CHURCH & STATE:

Thoughts applicable to Present Conditions

COLLECTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF

THE LATE BISHOP RIDDING

With Love from
Lawrence Ridelump
April 23. 1912

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CHURCH AND STATE

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Thoughts Applicable to Present Conditions

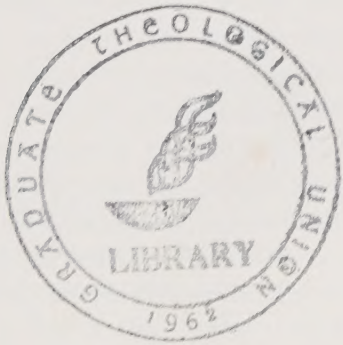
COLLECTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF

THE RIGHT REV. GEORGE RIDDING, D.D.

FIRST BISHOP OF SOUTHWELL

EDITED BY HIS WIFE

LADY LAURA RIDDING



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PREFACE

THE facts and arguments concerning Church and State, set forth in this volume, have been gathered from addresses which were delivered by the Bishop on various occasions, between 1885 and 1904, in his diocese.

At the time of their delivery they were welcomed as important contributions to the armoury of those who were then engaged in the defence of the Church against the attacks of her opponents. Now, when these assaults are being repeated, when the same assertions that he met are being circulated concerning her historical position and endowments, I hope that the Bishop's short summaries and statements of broad principles and historical facts may be found as serviceable to Church defenders as in the days when they were first presented by him.

With two exceptions, the collected writings in this volume have not before existed in any generally available form. The exceptions are certain extracts from his volume of sermons: *The Revel and the Battle*, pub-

lished by Messrs. Macmillan; and from his Visitation Charges in *The Church and Commonwealth*, published by Mr. Edward Arnold. I desire now to acknowledge their kindness in permitting me to reprint these extracts.

LAURA ELIZABETH RIDDING.

March 16, 1912.

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CHURCH AND STATE

PART I

THE CHURCH AND THE NATION

Union of Church and State, survival of Primitive Catholic Church system.

THE union of Church and State has been the normal existence of our own Church in its origins, and the normal existence of all National Churches in their origins, with the one great exception which could not be national, because there was no nation after the Western Empire ceased at Rome. In the Eastern Church the normal union is as in the days of Constantine; and if in Western Europe the other National Churches have one after another fallen from their first estate, they have left our National Church in this, as in so much else, the surviving example of Primitive Catholic Church System.

This interest of the nation in the National Church has been always hitherto assumed —naturally enough, for it is the oldest institution of the country, and the one which has been most closely bound up with the people in origin, in resources, in spirit, in

action; and yet perhaps assumed too much, because want of discussion has caused misunderstanding or exaggeration.

The National Church of advantage to the whole nation.

The main point to be made good is the advantage that the National Church is to the nation as a whole, and in it not only to undoubting Churchmen, but also to those who have separated from its system, and even to those who do not care or wish for a Church or religion at all.

Occupies place no other religious body can fill.

It is scarcely a less point to make good, that for England such as England is, for the Englishmen that Englishmen are, the English Church, national and established, is an institution whose place could not be supplied by an ecclesiastical fraternity, however primitive or catholic in its principles, which had to collect its following by voluntary association.

As conscience of the nation.

The phrase "A National Church is the conscience of the Nation" makes two distinct assertions: First, that the operation of the Church ought to be spiritual through influence on principles; and secondly, that Church and State should be coterminous.

Conscience belongs to a personal agent. Its office is to regulate a personal will in its choice for action, by asserting the principle of right and wrong as obligatory on personal choice. It is because a nation acts as a collective whole, that analogy justifies our calling a nation a personal agent, and our

speaking of a national conscience. A nation is the largest organic unit of action, but ideally, as an unit of action, it ought to be wholly pervaded by one self-governing principle of right, which should be as essential a constituent of its corporate life as its separate, independent, collective will and action. Without an organ for this, its moral constitution is at best rudimentary. A nation is as truly in *statu pupillari* if its religion is subject to outside direction as it would be if its laws and wars were dependent on outside authority. As conscience of the nation.

A moral nation will desire to make its religious organ the most efficient possible; for this it will organize its officers with the best system and circumstances possible for deepening the nation's sense of God and of duty to His commandments, which are in Christian philosophy the two departments of conscience. The acceptance, however, not the teaching; the power, not the system; the Church, not the clergy, makes the reality of national religion. The truth of God and of His commandments is universal, as for men so for nations; but that does not make the acceptance of them by the conscience of men and nations the same for all, nor does it make the same means of producing that acceptance the best for all. One nation is impressed by reason, one by emotion; one is amenable to discipline, one to trust; one requires truth, one is happy in superstition; one is elevated by authority,

The conscience of the nation

one lives on liberty. Customs good and right for one racial temperament, one climate, one social habit, one set of property and civil rights, are untrue for another.

Nations do not understand one another, and in nothing less than in each other's religious sentiments and capacities. Unknown truths must be taught by those who know; but missions are in infant tutelage until they pass to a native clergy. If a present teacher gets to understand his scholars in part and in time, a distant system of foreigners behind him does not. Churches are schoolmasters, not consciences, until they are in and of their own people. Churches are living realities when the Church's belief is the nation's belief, its principles the nation's principles, its system the nation's system, its worship the nation's worship—when the Church is the nation. Stages of imperfection may be unavoidable in a Church's growth; but imperfect apprehension within has more truth and power and promise than unreal representation outside. Only when a nation is Christianized into a Church which is itself, is its Church the nation's conscience, and its Church organization a real organ of the national body, filling it with light but living with the nation's life. The reason of National Churches rests on the fact of nations' individuality as real distinct agents.

National individualities the reason for National Churches.

My contention is that not only are National Churches the natural primitive type

of Church development, but that they also satisfy most completely the spiritual characteristics claimed to belong to the artificial systems contrasted with them. A Church's spiritual freedom from secular spirit and control is proportioned to its national character. Contrast in this single respect the two representative systems formed on opposite individualistic ideas against national unity, one by subdividing, the other by subordinating it, the Congregational and the Papal theories. Are they more spiritual and unsecular in aims, methods, spirit, results, than a National Church ? or do not their systems involve essentially, by the very nature of their existence, more, and not less, secularity in action ? By secular, of course, I do not mean lay. The Church, we all say, is not the clergy, and lay Church influence is not to be called unspiritual. Spiritual freedom of the Church does not mean unlimited clergy control. In spiritual as truly as in secular society the greatest liberty for all is derived from law controlling all. What I say is, that a National Church, established by recognized acceptance, organized with recognized officers and machinery, constituted with recognized laws and rights, and provided with recognized resources, is, by these conditions, in proportion to their completeness, free to be a wholly spiritual organ of life beyond the other systems.

National individualities the reason for National Churches.

National Church system contrasted with Congregational and Papal systems.

Congregationalism begins essentially in opposition. This differentiates it from the

primitive Churches, which it has claimed for its models. This initial spirit of schism itself creates one set of unspiritual relations, essentially attached to the antagonism evolved by it. Suppose for argument's sake, that a schism has begun for a good object. We need not say: "The end does not justify the means," because what we say is: "The means hinder its end." In the ideal National Church every member ought to contribute his best energy and thought to the new developments and improvements; and individual shades of enlightenment should tone one another gradually by friction and supplement, until a new truth is seen generally and a controversy forms an enrichment of progress. Not so with schism. A schism for an idea shows that its idea was seen before the schism, seen therefore in the Church, where it might as naturally have spread to others—the schism presents it unnaturally in hostility, which delays, instead of advancing, its acceptance. When the idea is an error, loyalty to the schism keeps the error on which might have been naturally exploded; and when the next generation abandons the error, the schism remains because it exists and has to find its occupation, in secular polities. Congregationalism has made its doctrines into secular political antagonism.

The downgrade progress of schism.

Does schism advance moral causes? The most spiritual plea for such schisms is impatience, that the whole body does not

without education see and honour the new truth at once. Even apart from self-assertion and fanaticism, patience to leaven the whole lump were truer spirit. Separation has not been a converting but an alienating influence, and its essential spirit of opposition is our present chief hindrance to national moral improvement.

The downgrade progress of schism.

I say nothing of the unspiritual subdivisions multiplied by pique, jealousy, quarrels and more interested motives: competition subjects schisms to secularity at all points. Think of the secular control essential to unendowed bodies, when minister and congregation are subject to purse or proprietor, and preachers are displaced for their virtues if they will not prophesy smooth things and run chapels on popular lines. Is national law really less spiritual? are constitutional obligations more secular than the legal contracts, which alone give rights in unestablished Churches, or than the business control of autocratic deacons? For whom is there freedom in the Free Churches, except for the rulers, lay or not lay, to exclude and expel, to govern and tax at pleasure, with no appeal except to the same courts that people call non-spiritual, and no alternative except to form a new schism? Enthusiasts may be carried away by words till they learn better, or business managers may think it a popular attraction to vaunt spiritual freedom; but, spiritual as individual ministers are, competitive sec-

Secular control of the Free Churches.

tarianism is by its nature involved on all sides in unspiritual secularities unnatural to a National Church.

Limitations of the Papal Church. 1. Unrepresentative.

Is the extra-national range of Papal Church subordination more free, and spiritual and unsecular in its aims, methods, and spirit? I do not mean for the clergy, but for the Church. Clergy belief in the superiority of clergy rule may call ecclesiastical spiritual, and attach a glamour of catholicity to the extra-national Clergy Union, which the Papal theory exalts with authority and immunity above State law and National Church. Yet even clergy may doubt whether, outside the Papal Court, even the clergy gain in freedom or position from the Papal system. The eighty recalcitrants of the Vatican Council * witness to the spiritual fetters which reduce all, outside the Curia, from ministers of Christ to functionaries of fixed ceremonial more really than republican laws attempt. Heresy may deserve prison, torture and death, and yet clergy may not accept an Italian definition of heresy to be simply refusal of absolute submission to the Pope. Laymen see that extra-national secular schemes, e.g. for Arbitration or Trades' Unions, require at least two conditions as essential for reality: (1) representative character, (2) coercive efficiency. Church writers see this for secular schemes, but not for ecclesiastical; and yet Papal history witnesses that the failure of the Papal system

* A.D. 1869–70.

in spiritual character and religious progress is due to its unrepresentative and ineffective catholicity. The Papacy is Italian. If ruling powers ever made it otherwise, tendency and conditions have dwarfed it into Italian. It cannot itinerate. Apart from temporal dominion, Rome was its idea and is its glamour. It is also its fixed habitation. The Pope is not the Pope, but the Curia. The Tsar's autocracy has been described, by one who knew, to be a popular will, focussed by an inner circle, and made the Tsar's will. So is the Pope's infallibility. The Curia, with departments and colleges, and traditions and environment, the growth of ages, could not be uprooted. If an American were Pope, the real Pope would still be Italian. His foreign character is fatal to religious rule; foreign officials don't understand the people, natives he does not understand. Foreign misunderstandings, even in secular and national administration, are disastrous; but, without sympathy, religious rule is impossible. Roman methods are as alien to England, as English, to Rome; the Inquisition could not act in England, nor liberty of thought, at Rome. It is the same with the other nations. The unrepresentative Papacy lacks the mutual sympathy needed for religious rule.

Limitations of the Papal Church. 1. Unrepresentative.

Its second flaw is no less due to its extra-national range; its coercive power was secular force, bribed by secular motives. The Inquisition was called a holy office, and

2. Extra-national.

2. Extra-national.

inquisitors believed they were doing God service; but its power was the terrorism of a secret agency resting on secular sanction and secular executions. The Papal supremacy was advanced by stirring nation against nation, as aims and enmities would purchase sanction for invasion by recognitions of fealty. The two invasions of England, the Albigensian crusades, the crushing of the Templars, the crusades transferred against Manfred, are typical instances of Papal secular intrigue due to extra-national impotence.

Still more fatal effects appear in the degradation of really great Papal methods, the Monasteries, the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Benefit of Clergy, the supervision of Church patronage, the Benevolences for Catholic objects like Crusades, the devices for enforcing general discipline. The hollowness of central control over them in foreign lands, the want of knowledge and interest in their foreign usefulness and their perversions to the sole object of aggrandizing the Papacy, demoralized the Institutions and alienated the nations.

All this was due to the Catholicity of the one Christian Church, which has been a kingdom of this world.

Anti-national Papalism is and professes to be, but it is not therefore unsecular or non-political, any more than Congregationalism. Both make consciences of their own. Both disregard the nation and its conscience.

Both call it spiritual to do so. The one Church system wholly free for spiritual offices and interests is the one system that has its independence, stability, and acceptance secured in accord with its nation's religious conscience as an ideal National Church. 2. Extra-national.

To believe in the Church of England, and in the English people, is an English clergyman's earthly wisdom and strength. No other Church combines the excellencies of the Church of England for the free, sober, thoughtful, independent, God-fearing people of England, whose religious reverence has been formed on the Bible and by the Sunday. Other nations may have formed theirs on other bases. That does not so much concern us. *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna.* English people are our people ; it is for them English clergy have to live and think, and work and pray.

The primitive way of being Catholic was to be National, and that is, and, let us hope, will long continue, our English way. The Bidding Prayer calls on us to pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, especially that pure and Apostolic Branch of it established in this realm. But we need not care to assert that, by adding an epithet to its name of Church of England, any more than we need state its history as being, not a Church which joined simply, like German The primitive way of being Catholic was to be National.

The primitive way of being Catholic was to be National.

princes, in protest against Roman errors, but a Church which reformed them. It need not call itself Catholic or call itself Reformed, but simply the Church of England. Its standard is the Prayer Book. The Prayer Book is a noble inheritance, with which the clergy and the people will be wise to be content, and to unite in developing the robust Churchmanship contained in its principles.

The English parson's speciality is to be among his people, not a monk or ecclesiastic isolated as part of systems having principles and interests "not understanded of the people." Our clergy must be national, and linked (as they have always been) with civil order. They are the Nation's organ of religion, but as an organ of the national body, not as a regulator from outside.

A National Church requires fullest powers for development

The powers given by law to the ministers of the National Church are rightly to be claimed, and it is our wisdom to establish the constitutional position assigned to the clergy, and on that to develop the activities suited to the progressive opportunities of the country. It is our wisdom to accept the world-envied advantages of our National Church, and strengthen our working power by constitutional reforms producible by free discussion, rather than to alienate trust and goodwill by claims and ideas not recognized by the Church and Nation. Appeals for

Constitutional powers and reforms may unite effectively, not clergy only, but lay Churchmen of all shades of opinion; and statesmen who are not Churchmen have become more and more ready to recognize the justice and wisdom of giving so great a National Institution its fullest powers of constitutional development in loyalty to its national principles.

A National Church requires fullest powers for development.

We ask those who dispute the reason of the National Church what it is they would substitute for it? Do they simply mean to destroy, or do they see what there is to be put in its place? I don't mean, of course, that those who were working in the Church of England would cease to work—that is not the question at all.

But is there any doubt that we do gain by having religion recognized by our Nation on all public occasions, and is there any substitute proposed for the National Church? I ask, Is there any other body ready to step into its place? Are the great bodies of the Wesleyans, the Independents, the Baptists—are they one or other of them going to request their next neighbour to take that place instead of the Church of England? or are these three likely to stand out of the way and ask some body like the Salvation Army or the Plymouth Brethren to come forward and be a National Church? I am quite convinced that any place which has done without a National Church does not tell

National Church secures recognition of religion.

National Church secures recognition of religion.

us it is wise for us to follow them, but that it is a very great loss to them not to have it. I have spoken on this question of the voluntary system supplying our place, and we speak as people who know, from our own use and experience, what the Nonconformist system means. We have it among ourselves. We don't complain of it the least; on the contrary, we say that pew-rented churches and the proprietorial chapels are extremely good makeshifts where there is nothing of the free church principle; but we think that a free church, made free by the gifts of past ages, and so free that the poorest goes without any payment or charge, is the best system. But we do not think that, good makeshifts as those sorts of establishment may be, we can look upon them as types of churches or places which we regard with our greatest respect. So I do not think we have any occasion to look to this method of payment for services received, as one to take the place of the system of our Church, which has been placed upon free gifts from the earliest time until now. And I would ask any one who thinks I am merely talking words about these things to consider not only that all our endowments were really gifts, given to God and given for posterity, and not merely for the man's own use at the time—I would ask them to look at London at the present time, and consider on what principles all those different mission districts, with which the east and south of London are

National Church made free by gifts of past ages.

now provided, are now supported. Is it not by every man's free gift to GOD for those whom they see to be in need? I do not see how any sane person, looking without prejudice at the facts, can say that our system does not contain now, and has not contained from the first, in a way in which none of those so-called Voluntary systems ever have contained, the system of gifts which first belonged to our own Church, and still belongs to it.

National Church made free by gifts of past ages.

What is it but that the Church of England, as the National Church, has the duty and responsibility which is felt, that it should supply the needs of the country? and that where no provision has been made before, the generation that exists has to arise and do it after the manner of their forefathers? I want you to observe that it is that responsibility, that duty, which will be destroyed by disestablishment; and I desire to emphasize that, to my mind, disestablishment—that means destruction—of the National Church is of more consequence in this question than disendowment, which takes away its possessions. However much we may think it absurd to take away what has been given, simply to tell us to go and get the same given over again, however absurd that may be, it might be given over again. Liberationists may be quite right in thinking it might be given over again (I don't at all say they are wrong in that) but what I do say is, that the whole character of the Church of England,

Disestablishment would destroy sense of responsibility for universal spiritual provision.

Disestablishment would destroy sense of responsibility for universal spiritual provision.

which at present makes it responsible for providing both for these large towns, and also for the poor villages of the country, would disappear, and I don't think people quite recognize that. It would simply remain a sense of duty of Christians, separately, whether they each felt they had a call.

"*Establishment is a cause of Schism*" examined.

I desire now to turn your thoughts to a still wider range of union than that of the diocese, viz. that created by our position as a National Church. It has been said that "Establishment is a cause of schism." I believe the exact opposite to be the truth.

A National Church a security for comprehension.

The settled and constitutional condition of the Established Church is a great force which does, in fact, keep together within it a wide variety of intellectual qualities and opinions, of spiritual and social powers, such as can only exist when independence within wide limits is guaranteed; but, where it can exist, has a richness of strength and completeness in the manifold variations with which it represents the great central type. This variety is possible for us, and it is due to our settled Constitution, which is called our "Establishment." Where the opposite principle operates, there is no cohesion to overcome the tendency to repeated subdivisions in the bodies which have flung off from the Church. Dissent witnesses that the centrifugal force of unregulated individualism, which first separated bodies from us, goes on continually disintegrating

Centrifugal tendency of Dissent.

them into smaller atoms, only to be reunited by accepting some limiting regulation such as that furnished by the Established Constitution of the Church. Individuals may have separated from dislike of Establishment as well as from dislike of any other tenet; but that is not the meaning of "Establishment creates Schism." Contrast the sects and the Church; their facts show the opposite to be true.

Centrifugal tendency of Dissent.

In answer to these arguments, the reply is given that, "An Established Church is a kingdom of this world." It is a startling description. To me no two things seem more opposite, in methods, in actions, in objects, than an Established Church and a kingdom of this world. What does a kingdom do? It manages war and peace, commerce and order, property and taxes, political rights and material well-being. It acts through alliances and diplomacy and judicature ending in war abroad, hangings and prisons at home. Its secular action is all for material objects and by material methods. It makes, in other words, the body's life. The Church in the body is the spiritual conscience influencing the kingdom of the world to become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ. The kingdom's secular organs work for material strength, security, prosperity, and justice; but history witnesses to the kingdom's action being inspired and elevated by religion through the Church embodied in its organism. Why is such

"An Established Church is a kingdom of this world" examined.

"An Established Church is a kingdom of this world" examined.

influence more worldly than if it stood apart as an outside preceptor in conflict and friction, instead of in united life? Why more unspiritual than political agitation pursuing its own power for religion by the ordinary methods of this world? The Church as a kingdom of this world was seen in the Papacy, as a temporal sovereignty, pushing religion by wars, invasions, force, seeking rule and territories like the States round it. Or it may be seen in the Mohammedan system. Those contrasts bring out clearly the absurdity of calling our Church such a kingdom. But, indeed, the idea contradicts the more usual taunt levelled at an Established Church, that it is not even free to be its own master, much less to be a kingdom.

I believe that the established position of our Church on its national basis and constitutional order is the source of greater freedom both for clergy and people than the unregulated state of the so-called Free Churches.

Most of the departments of National life, which at first were directed by the clergy as the learned of the land have now reasonably passed into the hands of the lay body of the nation, who are the more learned in them now. Law, police, judicial and legislative authority, social relations, property rights, and, in short, all secular order and business have passed to them; and in the border depart-

ment of education, charity, marriage, religious toleration or equality, they have the settlement. They are as learned in them.

Transfer to State of departments formerly administered by Church.

Belonging to the National Church, as I am supposing them to do, they belong to it as such, naturally, as the nation's accepted system; not as a particular device of their own, as Dissenters assert their bodies.

In consequence, while Nonconformists are marshalled under more and more exacting pressure in aggressive methods to destroy the influence of the Church, there is less active energy in Church laymen to maintain that influence.

Shrunk as the clergyman's sphere of direction is from early times, still no system equals the parochial, in providing coadjutors to the civil rulers in all departments of social life in every village; and the home problems and troubles and possibilities may easily give each person in his own place as many occasions for advice, help, settlement, as parish problems and possibilities give a bishop in a diocese.

Importance of surviving departments of clerical work and influence.

Without coercion or authority, a good clergyman is the local source of law and direction in almost everything to his ignorant people, though he does not make or enforce, but only applies and assists, the law civil, physical, or secular.

It would be very hard to supply the place of the parochial system in its constituted uses to the country. In spite of its individual failures, in spite of its imperfect

Importance of surviving departments of clerical work and influence.

application, this earliest of English Institutions survives on its merits and justifies even its independence by its history. In spite of continual English friction, common to the working of all our institutions, it has been a power for good, without which the country and even those who have separated from the Church would be poorer than perhaps they realize.

But the clergy are not the Church, nor are their particular duties the only Church duties, nor does the sacredness of their ministry make them a separate caste, nor are they ordained to be rulers, but pastors.

Churchmen, who carry on the secular work which makes the mass of human life, and bring into it the Christian spirit which the Church has been formed to inspire, are doing Church work no less truly; and the gift of ruling belongs to them often with a more abundant gift of the same spirit. The clergy are one department, I do not say of the State, but of the Nation; and they are bound to be, and claim to be trusted as being, experts in their department, no less than the persons of the law, of medicine, of the national forces and of other corporate departments.

PART II

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AND THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM

The reason for a National Church.

WHAT is the reason for a National Church ?

If a new nation (suppose a savage nation like Baganda) asked as a practical question whether it should begin one, it might say to its chief : " Your Majesty has your army to protect you, and to attack your enemies. You do not divide it into factions to thwart one another and help the enemy to weaken one another. Why have a divided army for spiritual war ? "

When, in the days of our early forefathers, two Churches claimed rival precedence, the old King * had a conference with them both ; and, weak as the decisive argument was, he wisely ruled one into position.

To a political philosopher there are at least these reasons for a National Church. Religion is of chief importance, and claims to rank among the institutions of a nation. The unlearned have a claim on their governors to direct them on a matter beyond their judgment, and this the more, if

* King Oswy, at the Council of Whitby, A.D. 664.

The reason for a National Church.

many different systems are presented to them. For the learned, choice may be open as they wish, but the unlearned have a right to have one system labelled for them with authority, to save them the necessity of a helpless choice. Again, the poor have a claim that the instrumental machinery for the ministrations of religion shall be provided, and that religion shall not be only for the rich. Beyond this, the value of unity in religion is essential, as its spirit suffers from divisions more than almost any weakness: and its practical influence on a people is destroyed by presenting it either as a competition of conflicting schools of philosophy or as a competition of conflicting interests of rival bodies. It would be strange if there were no reason for a National Church, when every nation in every age of history has never failed to have one, except some in Europe since the date of Protestant sects. So we might reason with a political philosopher.

A security of unity.

But to Englishmen, I say, our National Church stands intertwined with every stage of our nation's growth, forming it even before it was a nation, and by its unity uniting separate provinces into one kingdom: rooted by national acceptance in endowed homes in every domain of the land, and marking it with its most enduring landmarks of parishes; maintaining its independent identity through the stages in which it grew with the nation's growth; assimilating, English fashion, all external advances into its own native system;

varying in its times of life and deadness with those of the people; but throughout presenting a line of leaders unequalled in any Church for their unblemished lives; an array of learning that may compare with any Church; a union with the life of the people which, however imperfect, has been greater than in any Church of like development. A security of unity.

If divisions disable her as a centre of unity now, that is the fault of those divisions. She still stands the one body, able to be the whole nation's instrument for her other services, so far as those divisions do not hinder. She may reasonably ask, What learning was there to compare with hers in those who set their judgment on deep doctrine against hers? or what fruits have come from those divisions which could not have been raised more richly without them?

A Nonconformist, in the original meaning of the term, was essentially opposite to a Dissenter in the original meaning of that. A Nonconformist adhered to the National Church, notwithstanding the existence of some forms which he would not follow. The name "Dissenter" was invented by Nonconformists to express the Separatist Independents. Those Nonconformists wanted to reform the National Church on lines afterwards rejected, but, as Nonconformists, they were essentially and in principle not Separatists. The Independents objected in principle to a National Church, and were in principle Separatists. Well, The terms, Nonconformity and Dissent.

The terms, Nonconformity and Dissent.

that is simply historical. But the questions may recur among ourselves, and my desire is to apply history to practical use. Is it truer to remain in a Church some of whose forms are not to your mind, or to seek perfect agreement with a party by separating from the main body? Is it truer for a minority to submit to a majority, and the majority to consider the minority; or for the minority, which cannot have its way, to secede? If it ever becomes a vital question with any of us whether issues settled adversely should move them to secede from their Church, or to upset its position, I hope that, if they cannot be Conformists, they will be Nonconformists, and not become Dissenters. I hope so for three reasons. The existence of any body requires it, and Churchmen ought to recognize the truth and value of the Church as a body.

Separation makes reunion impossible. Every religious agency is dwarfed by division and weakened by opposition. The evils of past schisms ought to prevent any more Churchmen from repeating what they have condemned. I know that it seems at first sight to many people that it is only fancy or words to talk of a Church as anything but the individuals in it, or a national religion as anything but that of its individual citizens. Well, this is one of the oldest questions. No thinker can long doubt that a State or Church is something more than a lot of separate units. The separate tissue

cells which make up our bodies are transformed in capacity by being placed in connection; and an organized human body develops powers by their combination which unconnected cells would not possess. States of different constitutions develop very different results out of their citizens. Men's public actions differ in principle from their private; both good and bad are modified in common action, and private motives may be higher or lower than State law. A nation's religion appears in its public acts, and may be higher or lower than that of its private citizens. What does a National Church profess? It does not profess to make all its people saints. The Church is an instrument under God to make people better, not a society to label all its members as perfect.

The terms, Nonconformity and Dissent.

The office of a National Church.

It has been said, a nation without a National Church is irreligious. But that does not mean that if a nation has a National Church, all its people are religious. I read lately a published letter from a Baptist minister, clearly a very good man, which made a rhetorical satire out of this confusion. After a fine denunciation of our nation's sins of fraud, cruelty, lust, and intemperance, he said: "And yet we are religious, for we have a National Church!" I daresay it told, because people don't all understand logic; but a student of reasoning might have jumped up and said: "My good sir,

The office of a National Church.

your argument has four terms—that is no argument at all: you might as well deny that it is indecent to go without clothes, because people who wear clothes may yet do indecent things!" A practical answer to the bad argument might be, "What! the nation sunk in all these sins still! Was it worse when we had only the Church and none of our 250 sects besides? Why, what good have the 250 sects done, then?" A fair answer to his unfairness.

Has secession helped?

But don't suppose me to say it is true. I believe we are better than we were, and I believe the Wesleyans have done much towards this. But if they had done their part in union with the Church, what might not we have done together?

Don't suppose me, either, to say that our nation is irreligious. I think there never was more religion shown in our legislation than at present [1889] in its Christian social measures and aims. Nevertheless, it is true that want of united religion makes its religious action weak and imperfect in proportion. The power that might be thrown into joint religious action, say for education or social reforms, is spent on factious attempts to weaken the natural national instrument, the Church: a double loss of strength for the Church and of time and effort for her opponents.

Wesleyan spirit and enthusiasm, how good and necessary it was! But, without saying a word now about Wesley's intentions,

how much greater a revival it might have been! Has secession helped?

Wesleyans have made a system of excellent government, indeed almost a copy of the Church system. Suppose they had joined within the Church to revivify the Church Convocations, Church discipline, Church evangelism, what a strength to united religious life and organization that would have been, in the place of the dead weight thrown against the nation, having, as a nation, what is desired, approved, claimed, and exercised by the sects as sects! Of course, it is in Parliament that the weakness is most clear. And the time has come when the nation, and when especially religious social reformers, should ask whether factious opposition to legislation for Church improvement is for the good of the nation or consistent with religious principle and spirit. Beware, at any rate, brother Churchmen, of following former Churchmen by any fresh separation to maintain, outside the Church, what you have learnt in it. Puritans and Wesleyans both saw truths and separated for truths. But those truths they learnt in the Church, and could have maintained with more lasting effect by maintaining them in the Church against the opposition they met, than by going out of the Church to avoid opposition, and so sacrificing their influence on the Church. And beware, secondly, because history shows that separation makes reunion impossible. Party life is a source

Has secession helped?

of energy in a body by its very friction, so long as it is in the body. It ceases to be any strength when it passes outside, and emulation passes soon through rivalry into hostility. So long as corporate union is preserved, union of opinion may, and probably will, be reached in time. But personal separation once made, corporate reunion is beyond human nature.

Attraction, an unreliable test of fitness of form of religion.

There was recently published a letter of a Congregational minister, saying that it is the first duty of every man to choose the religion fittest for him. People often talk so, and it sounds plausible. Surely if a man not only knows what is fittest for him, but will choose it, he has a pretty good religion already. But is a Hindoo, a Mohammedan, or a Dahomey likely, one to choose the energy, one, the humility, one, the kindness, of Christianity? Their own religions are the outcome of their own characters, and therefore just the least fitted to raise them. Let me tell you a true story. An officer friend of mine, when his boy was to go to school, said to himself: "It's my boy, not I, who is going to school, and he had better choose his school." So they started for a tour of some leading small-boy schools. The first was at lessons, and looked like work: the boy did not think it fittest for him. The next was at cricket, fitter: but not finally clear to be fittest. The next was going to dinner, with all the set-out of a London club and a right-hand place:

and the boy went no farther. So an emotional person, who ought to be quieted, chooses Salvationist services; a person who needs strong preaching chooses musical and æsthetic churches; a man who loves first seats in the synagogues becomes elder of a wealthy congregation. I know that, with our many diversities, men must choose; but choice should rest on what reason or authority shows to be truest, not, as usually, on what people like best.

Attraction, an unreliable test of fitness of form of religion.

The Nonconformist conferences, which have said that reunion is impossible on the terms named by the Lambeth Conference, say that the essential aim of Dissent is: "A free Church in a free State." This motto might pass for private persons. Its jingle of words is fine and attractive. All iterations about freedom will catch a British ear. "Britons never, never will be slaves." But, put seriously forward by authority as the aim of Dissent, it claims to be analysed. I have tried, but I cannot understand it. Let me ask you, Is it a Church, i.e. one Church, or many Churches, or one Church free to be many or none? *Ergo*, we have a Church; is the Church to be free to make that free? Is that it? Or what is the Church to be free from? From any direction, or from whose—the State's? Or from all head, or shape, or system, or government, or deed, or trust? From conferences, or elders' or deacons' control? Or does it mean only that any one may belong to any Church he likes? To

"A free Church in a free State" examined.

"A free Church in a free State" examined.

whom is each Church free? To every one? To every one who likes, or only to those tried and admitted? Is there to be exclusion then and authority to exclude—i.e. conferences and elders with greater power of coercion than Parliament or bishops? Is it to have laws, and who is to make them? Is every one to be free to make them? What kind of freedom will it have then? Free from payment it would not be made by disestablishment. Then what is the State to be free from? The free Church? Is it only not to be free to have anything to do with the Church if it wishes? It comes back to "a not free Church in a not free State," so far as I can see. I don't like to quarrel with the attractive jingle of the words, "a free Church in a free State," but as the essential aim of Dissenters it wants some explanation.

What the Independents meant in Cromwell's time is clear enough. They made Cromwell assent to a petition that the polity of the Independents might become the Church polity of the nation. Utterances of no uncertain sound show that spirit still not far off. No one shall be free to have any Church system but theirs if they have their way. Liberty they have long had. They disliked endowments and connection with the State. Uniformity was long insisted on by the nation, and tolerance seemed irreligious. But they have long since been allowed to have no endowments or State

connection. "They won religious liberty." Others do not dislike endowments or State connection, however, but think them right. Are they to be coerced not to have them? What religious liberty is this? Are the assertors of religious liberty after all only fighting to force their own ideas and system on every one? I should not demur to men doing that, only it is not religious liberty nor quite the course for those who profess that. Nor is the past intolerance of a generation, who had not learnt the idea of tolerance, any argument for returning to it in a generation which has learnt it and professes it.

"A free Church in a free State" examined.

My first appeal is to Churchmen, that they will consider the evils of past divisions, and never add a fresh one to their number. My second is to all advocates of religious liberty, that they will consider the danger of that liberty being sacrificed by a false continuance of what was once a true cry, and the unwisdom and inconsistency of good men in spending their main efforts in weakening such an established instrument of good as the National Church.

Suppose for a moment that the Church were displaced from its recognized national place, I should still say that, for the war with evil, for moral and social reforms, for spreading the Christian spirit, wisdom would say: Strengthen the Church as the central force, as the backbone of the living system.

A National Church the backbone of all religious systems of a nation.

A strong National Church not only is now the backbone on which the other denomina-

A National Church the backbone of all religious systems of a nation.

tional Churches do as a fact, however unconsciously, rest, but would be still more a necessity if its State position were destroyed. It would be the greatest loss to Nonconformity, as well as to the Church, if the Church sacrificed any part of what she holds to be the truest and best historical Church system. That view has been urged on us by American Nonconformists, who see, as we can all see, what a help the standard of our Church has given towards the growing process of reforming less formed systems.

I think it an appropriate use of a talk meeting to clear away delusions of words and phrases. Cries may be of little meaning, though the words be strong. I will now ask you to examine the phrase "Religious Equality." And more particularly I ask you to consider it as a cry which implies that there is some injustice somewhere to somebody which it professes to remove. And it will be necessary for this to be appreciated, that the practical policy labelled "Religious Equality" should be taken to interpret its value.

The phrase "*Religious Equality*" examined.

The confusion between religious liberty and religious equality.

But first we must get rid of a confusion which is common, between religious liberty and religious equality. They are contradictory to one another. Religious liberty is not my subject, but I must digress to it for a moment to clear away confusion. Religious liberty means that no one should suffer any political disability on account of his religious opinions. We have some limita-

tions still. Americans regulate Mormons. We control Thugs. But Dissenters claim to have *won* religious liberty. At any rate, it exists now completely for Protestant Dissenters—and its only limitations are what Dissenters make for others—such as for the Church; their hindrances to Church legislation, their hindrances to Church education, and their efforts for Disestablishment. They have got liberty and having got it, wish to keep it—to themselves. Their aim is the compulsory uniformity which they call their undenominationalism, which expresses its theory of liberty in the form: "Dissent or nothing." At any rate Dissenters themselves point to religious liberty as being complete. It is not for liberty they contend now.

The confusion between religious liberty and religious equality.

But it is, I think, worth while to contrast the position in which religious liberty was withheld by the nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the present time, when Dissenters desire to withdraw it again. Englishmen fifty years ago believed in uniformity, as meaning unity and that quiet order of peace in religion which embodied to them reverence, patriotism, and brotherhood, expressed in the loyal and patriotic toast, Church and King. With all readiness to say, "Live and let live," the nation foresaw the public weaknesses which its corporate unity would suffer in legislation and local government from divisions based on deeper sentiments than political party.

The confusion between religious liberty and religious equality.

We cannot say that their foresight has been discredited by facts. Looking back these fifty years, I do not say that the cause of individualism in religion was helped by its first advocates. Kindly and indulgent geniality was the Englishman's law of criticism, and to him the Radical Dissenter in those days presented not only the embodiment of social disruption, but also of disagreeable worriting, made offensive by the assumption of a superiority which he felt more sanctimonious than saintly, and made men think there was more practical value in unity than in Dissent. Edges on both sides have since softened, and those repellent qualities are now not accounted.

The settlement has long been for individualism. To seek to reimpose uniformity now is not only inconsistent with the very principle on which Dissent exists, but is an anachronism in the present political system. At the same time it is an acknowledgment of the value of uniformity from those who rebelled against it then.

The demand for religious equality examined.

Let me pass to the question of equality. My deep political love for liberty, my deep Christian love for fraternity, feel both contradicted by any cry for equality which limits the best from being the best, and makes jealousy destroy excellence. For religion, as for all things, I say fearlessly, let the best prevail. If any is better than the

Church, let that prevail. Which other body is selected for the competition? is what those who claim an Established Church would have to ask. The demand for religious equality examined.

But we quite understand that the label, "Religious Equality," is not fixed really on a great principle or sentiment, but on a particular measure—the Disestablishment of the Church. I ask as my only question about that, What injustice is there in the establishment? I can only suppose it to mean, that it is considered to give an unfair advantage to the Church. I am afraid to suppose that, but I really can see nothing else. But think what an admission is made by that complaint—"Establishment is an advantage." Why, it gives Puritanism away! However, let us look more in detail.

What is the point on which religious equality is supposed to be infringed? Is it a spiritual superiority that is resented, or a material? If the Church is thought to set store on her endowments, what pious scorn is hurled at her for attributing efficiency to carnal weapons! What contumely is freely expressed against clergy set upon loaves and fishes! Though that phrase from the Gospel story might remind people that the clergy take more really the Apostolic part in that story than the multitude's; and rather receive for distribution than enjoyment, their provision, and that, what would be to earthly estimation, one all too infinitesimal. But be that as it

The demand for religious equality examined.

may, is that pious scorn all pretence? Is it, after all, pecuniary inequality that is resented? And is the vaunted spiritual superiority of Voluntaryism forgotten in the battle cry of religious equality? Or is political ascendancy the point of inequality resented; and is, after all, that vaunted spiritual superiority reduced to cry for State Establishment to give it a fair chance against the Church whose earthly supports it has always professed to disdain?

We must have religious equality defined, you see, on these points, before we can discuss it. Is the superiority resented spiritual, material, or political? As matter of fact, if the head of the Congregational Union is a Member of Parliament (representing what is open in the House of Commons to Dissenters, but not to our clergy), he represents political power and rights of which our clergy might complain as an inequality. And if the incomes guaranteed to Dissenting ministers are not greatly exaggerated to me, there is material position too. Dissenting ministers of the same calibre and character as our clergy have no cause to complain of inequality, but may rather make our clergy complain of their inferior incomes. I have heard people say the words, "Social Equality." I shall not take up that. It would be no reproach to our people but to theirs; and I decline to suppose it. I have nothing to do with it. But if the Church were disestablished, I

suppose that, so far as official relations are concerned, which is all that could be touched, our clergy would still be welcomed by our people, and Dissenting ministers by theirs. The social lines of intercourse between ministers and people would be more likely to be hardened into a division between friends and foes than to be effaced by disestablishment. I do not like to talk of this.

The demand for religious equality examined

But my question is, Do bodies which have repudiated establishment and endowment as unspiritual degradations to the Church of Christ, now raise a cry for "Religious Equality" in these carnal fetters from which they are free? Is the spiritual side so entirely thrown into the background by them?

If it is not, what then do they mean? Do they mean that the *goodness* of their religion is unequal? and that the law might make that equal? Disestablishment would not make Wesleyans count Mormonism as good a religion as theirs; or Independents look on the Salvation Army as carrying out their principles no less perfectly; or make the Protestant sects cease to criticize Popery. Liberal Theosophists may now count Jews, Buddhists, and Mohammedans as good as Christians; and Atheists, Agnostics, or Secularists may now scoff at all religions as equally worthless. But religious people will never regard all religions as equally true and good. If Dissenters are in any confusion on this, why don't they

The demand for religious equality examined.

reunite with a body whose religion they call (by hypothesis) equal to their own?

Well! they don't mean that. They think themselves best and wish to prevail. As in the days of Cromwell, the Independents petitioned that their Church polity should be made the religious polity of the whole kingdom, so it is now. "Undenominational" means in their use what belongs to their denominations. Their only standard for religious education is their own Dissenters' standard. More or less consciously they claim supremacy, and call everything else inequality. Presbyterians meant, at least, to have a share in religious government under Cromwell, but the political Dissenter crushed the spiritual Dissenter as utterly as he did the Church. Political Dissenters are the same now. I do not blame them. Only it is not religious equality. That is what I am concerned to say. For political Dissenters to raise the cry of religious equality is a sham. I do not blame them, I say, for pushing their own tenets and system. If the country were to become Unitarian, it would make its Church Unitarian in natural course. That would not make it true, any more than our truth is made by its old acceptance. Still a democratic age would claim on its own principles that such a revolution should be justified by numbers at least, if not by other reasons. But that claim cannot be made by any other religious body, nor by all put together.

Supremacy, not Equality, the real meaning of the demand.

Supremacy, not Equality, the real meaning of the demand.

Meanwhile, what is the injustice complained of in the cry for religious equality? For it is only as a cry about injustice that the cry raises any feeling. The cry really means one political step, the Disestablishment of the National Church. Of the history, meaning, and use of its Establishment I shall not speak now. I am only concerned with the one question, whether it gives Dissenters any cause to complain of injustice.

Surely the history of Dissent makes any such complaint absurd. Who created what inequality exists, and why did they create it? If the conditions now called inequality were created by the Dissenters themselves, and created by them because they preferred them (regarding them as a higher level than what they left), any idea of injustice attaching to their self-chosen position must be transferred to the creators of that position. The Puritans professed to go upstairs, not to be thrust downstairs—to leave a level which they condemned for a state which they counted better, not worse. Do their descendants judge differently and count their fathers' secession a fall? Let them remember in discussing this, what they assert very strongly in support of some other arguments, how tyrannical the Puritans thought everything possible done by Church and State to prevent them from separating into other bodies, and how they excommunicated the National Church as un-

Supremacy, not Equality, the real meaning of the demand.

fit for the saints? Did the Church drive them out, or did she go so far in striving to keep them, as to give occasion for some political treason-makers to have Dissenting anniversaries held in their honour, as if they died as martyrs to Church tyranny shown in restraining them? Does the present generation complain of their fathers for not accepting what was then the national belief in uniformity, of which their fathers, and only they, insisted on the abandonment? Do they complain that their fathers created an inequality downwards? Well, I ask, whose doing was it? Not only that, but whose doing is it? What bar is there to their returning to the same level which they might have retained all along if they had so chosen? What injustice attaches to their self-chosen position? Is it not only in the wrong done by their fathers to the Church and State, which their fathers insisted on dividing and weakening, for their own satisfaction on points, most of which, their descendants have abandoned?

"Can a man injure himself?" both law and philosophy have asked, in the sense, "Can what a man does to himself be called injustice to him?" The only plea on which the cry of religious equality appeals to sentiment or conscience is that of supposed injustice. To that plea law and philosophy make it a rebutting answer to say: "What you complain of was your own doing; and, moreover, the remedy lies with

yourselves, and you can return to what you abandoned. But if you prefer to stay as you are, what injustice is there in your being free to do so ? "

The injustice of Disestablishment.

But is there not another side ? Is there no injustice in Disestablishment, which is Dissenters' meaning of religious equality ? Is there no injustice to Church-people ? None to religion ? Are Dissenters the only people with feelings and consciences ? Is their system and teaching so clearly the best ? If the majority of the nation enjoy and value advantages from our historic endowments, is it no injustice to the country to throw those millions into the gutter, and impoverish the service of religion, to level down its chief agency ?

In our democratic days some of us are moved to fling away what they have called privileges, and to strip themselves of every advantage for doing their work. Do we then take our offices as privileges ? We take them as offices entrusted to us. What are we, that our sickly self-consciousness is to think of our offices as *ours* to throw away or to shrink from keeping for their service and for the Church, not only of our day ? Till the Church is shown not to be an instrument of religion, it is not chivalry, but treachery, to fling away its equipments. Are the Dissenters so unembarrassed in their own businesses, that they are able at once to take up the Church's obligations too ? Is there no injustice in depriving the poor

The injustice of Disestablishment.

districts, from which Dissent migrates, of the provision now made for them?

Religious equality is a false flag over Disestablishment. Religions do not want themselves equal. If Dissenters think themselves better men than us, if they think their ministers better than ours, if they think their system and teaching better than the Church's, they will press them properly on the country as best. But equality is not their aim, nor has the Church any cause to feel qualms on the score of justice.

Does the Church not recognize or desire equality? Yes, the Church desires equality, even to the degree of all difference disappearing in reunion of Dissenters to the Church of which they are members. Beyond this public equalization, the Church remembers of individual Christians that souls are all of equal value before God, whatever be their earthly conditions; and that it is for these souls, for all of whom alike Christ died, that all who work for God are His ministers; and she trusts that He may bring many ways to one end, beyond what we may see, until, in a service of God which is perfect freedom, all his faithful ones may find Religious Equality.

Disestablishment would be national apostasy.

The question, to my mind, is a simple and broad question. The two parts of the question are Disestablishment and Disendowment. What is the sentiment which this question

opens out to us? I will express it in the strongest form: it is a National Apostasy. Disestablishment would be national apostasy.

If the country said that it did not mean to have religion, I think that the real conscience of English people would feel that there was a blank and a blot because of this national apostasy.

What then would the practical results mean? They would not mean that the Bishops should not sit in the House of Lords, or Convocation not sit as a part of Parliament. It is possible that for that a balance might be struck, by the removal of disabilities in other ways. They really mean the destruction of the old time-honoured, honoured from time immemorial organizations of the whole country, under which territorial provision was made for every one in parishes and dioceses. Disestablishment means the destruction of the organization which for centuries has gone on as the backbone of religion, and which has been part of its continuous life, and is a prominent part of English history. Let me quote some words which were said by one of our most striking speakers on this subject: "It does seem strange at this moment, when the whole tendency with which we are surrounded speaks of exchanging individual operations for collective or national ones, that of the one thing which we have got in a nationalized form it should now be said that it ought to be turned into the sphere of individual competition." Movement counter to present day tendencies towards Nationalization.

On the question of Disendowment, I will ask you what is the broadest sentiment you would put to it? It is spoliation and confiscation. I do not shrink from saying, that if this confiscation be carried out, not to strengthen good and religion, but simply to destroy this great instrument of religion which we have in the Church of England, then such taking money dedicated to God's service in order to take it away from His service, would be nothing short of sacrilege.

Where Disendowment becomes sacrilege.

What would be the practical result of it all? The familiar idea is that in the place of it all is to be set the voluntary system. It is truly said that our system from the first has been the Voluntary System.

Everything has been the gift of ancient piety, given for this very thing. You have the voluntary system very fully alive amongst you. Daily and weekly are there not a multitude of objects being helped, a mass of money being contributed, still on the same voluntary principles? Is it likely to encourage that voluntary principle, if those revenues, which have been provided by that voluntary system, are, when it seems good to some one else, to be taken away, and people told to begin afresh upon the same voluntary system over again? I daresay they would do so. I do not say they would not; but will it encourage them to do it? Or is there any call that the gifts which have been given in that spirit should be now taken away—Heaven alone knows why?

Discourages voluntary efforts.

There is one other side to the question. Has the voluntary system been found by our friends outside to be so satisfactory to them in the way in which their religious bodies are doing their main duty of religion for the country? You know, doubtless, how strongly such men as Dr. Parker and Mr. Spurgeon have spoken about that subject. Discourages voluntary efforts.

Mr. Spurgeon said he saw all around him, wherever a district became poor, their chapels were moved that they might come in where they would be maintained; and every one found that they must go to those places where there was a congregation respectable enough to maintain them. Then Dr. Parker, taking the same kind of line, put the matter into this distinctive form: "I say the Voluntary System has been a great failure." Voluntary system fails to provide for the poor.

In great towns, like London and Nottingham, the clergy might well live and have better incomes than they have now, if they had not had their present positions limited and assigned to them. But the question is, what would be the case in the villages? In these two counties of Notts and Derbyshire there are (in 1894) one hundred and sixty villages which have no resident ministers in them; and I know well what would necessarily follow if most of these villages were thrown upon their own inhabitants to provide for. The practical question lies in that fact.

Then we ask: "Why is this provision

Voluntary system fails to provide for the poor.

which has been made, this good work which is being done, why is this to be stopped and the revenues taken? Why should the proposed change be made?" We wait to be told the reason, and no reason is forthcoming.

A duty of the clergy to defend the national trust of the endowments.

The weakness of the present day is not self-seeking in any class of life, certainly not in the Church, or among the clergy. I do not think that this is the spirit which marks the present generation. The present generation is one which desires to get rid of privileges so soon as ever it is taunted with having them; and the danger in the case of men of sensitive consciences among us is that, when so taunted, they may hastily, without thinking of their true position, give up the suggested privileges, rather than be taunted with possessing them. As it is the attack on the Church in Wales that we are considering, I will remind you of the story of Sir Walter Scott in the romance about Wales called *The Betrothed*. Raymond Berenger, the knight who was in charge of the fortress, was taunted one night over his wine cups: "Yes; you come out of your castle, and let us fight on even ground, and then we will see!" He promised in his wine cups and felt bound to keep his promise; so he let the hordes of Wales stream across the bridge which two men could have defended, he let them stream round every post of advantage, and until they had chosen their

position he did not come down. But when he came down he was overwhelmed with his knights and people because he had resigned his position. Was that chivalry, or was it an abandonment of post and trust out of mere self-consciousness ?

A duty of the clergy to defend the national trust of the endowments.

I say therefore, let your question be this : Can the work for God and man be done better by other people ? Can it be done better by them without these resources and without Establishment ? Can you think that it is your duty in the interests of what is best that you should be a party to giving up that system under which we are put, with opportunities which I believe not only to be unrivalled, but absolutely unable to be replaced ? I hope your sentiment is one of loyal and strong determination to maintain that which you conceive to be your duty and your trust.

The duty of Church defence.

If (as we hold) our cause is good, and we are sure of our flag, the flag will fly better and no less true on the ancient fort entrusted to us to hold for it. Champions, whose chivalry burns to go down from every point of vantage, may forget that the cause is not theirs ; that ages have not raised works to be abandoned to please others who haven't ; that strong positions make time for tumultuous attacks to disperse, while the occupants can continue their proper business undisturbed within ; and that they may stake too much on themselves. But if such champions

The duty of Church defence.

insist on going down to the fray, not on equal (as it is put to them), but on unequal terms, being (as they are) neither of the temper for aggressive attack, nor ready to use all kinds of weapons without scruple, are they ready ? A flag without a fort means an enthusiastic host " ready, aye ready," how soon and how often soever it is called to action. My experience, as a sort of brigadier of this district, is that Churchmen do not care to fight for what they hear called privileges, nor even to claim equal rights to have what they value ; that the laity are shy of being as forward about religion as they would be about politics, and look to the clergy to organize and direct any movement about Church life.

We hope their religion is a working one, influencing their lives, which is its truer office than fighting or speculating or inventing new systems instead of using the old. Clergy doing more spiritual service, laymen living more Christian lives, as Churchmen, are of course the best witness for the body to its own conscience, to its opposing critics and to the people who need shepherding, and who must judge by what they understand and value. It is the most irksome thing possible to set in motion any fighting organization for the Church. Church Defence has in its title the great merit that it is not Church Attack, as it would come to be if the Church were set to push her way as sect among sects.

PART III

THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM

I BELIEVE intensely in the Parochial System. I regret anything that weakens its independent substance. But strengthening the whole Church strengthens each parish, even more than strengthening single parishes strengthens the whole Church. The Church needs only to be united and whole-hearted in believing her commission to establish GOD's kingdom over the people in the wisdom, faith and concord befitting her commission; and she will ensure by persevering faithfulness a welcome as given to the one body, which can satisfy the present necessity in a people, rejoiced to find the leaders whom they have desired. The Parochial System.

Is not the principle of a National Church, with a territorial pastorate and general provision for religion and backbone for unity, what we are called to give up? If it is, I join issue with all my might, the old issue, the very old issue, the issue of all English Church history. The issue is, we well know, with two sets of disputants from opposite points: one, those who attach all The Parochial System a territorial provision of religion for the nation.

The Parochial System a territorial provision of religion for the nation.

such questions to history, to authority, to constitution or other such obligations of theory or principle; the other, those who know nothing of history or authority, and care less, and ask one question: "What is its use?" And in answering this, again some will regard the use of the parochial system to be to teach certain truths and certain worship; while others will think it a means of improving life, if by those truths and worship, by them; but if not by them only or chiefly, then by other helps and ministrations more particularly. Some may care only for it to teach episcopalian systems or sacerdotal doctrines; but that does not prevent others who have no sympathy with such teaching from valuing it as a potent elevating instrument.

Its value to Nonconformity.

The National Church as a territorial or a local system of providing every part of the country with religion is widely regarded, even by people who do not feel themselves a part of a living organism in it, to be an Institution of great public effect and advantage; and at least one which ought to be so, and might be made so, and should be maintained that it may be made so. I have myself often said that there are aspects in which a National Church is an advantage to Dissenters more particularly. Whatever be their doctrinal or spiritual differences, technically, they are politically members of the National Church, who have made themselves proprietary chapels, which (to put the

straitest ecclesiastical aspect of them) they get served by laymen, with a lay elasticity of services. Their chapels meet personal wishes, but entail no duties towards outsiders. If a district becomes poor, they move away from it, and follow their proprietary classes. Such a system almost requires, for the satisfaction of brotherly conscience, that provision be made for the poor by others, who will thereby leave them free to look after themselves. At any rate, a National Church does this for them, in ways they do not feel themselves called to provide. I do not think that in villages where the pastorate has been administered in the spirit of personal piety, devoted ministry and comprehensive charity, the separatist parishioners have desired the destruction of the parochial system of the country. On the contrary, non-political Dissenters have joined in general protest and petitions against it.

Its value to Nonconformity.

This is in my eyes a main point in the political question, as we must all recognize the question of an Established Church to be. It cannot be dissembled that town centres of different religious bodies feel called to push their connection where they have no members, to create factitious opposition as often to good as to bad Church work, and that sometimes without scruples about words and methods; and that the head centres of political organizations stimulate such action where it would not be locally

Its value to Nonconformity.

raised, from the natural desire for success. It is seen that chapels can be built on business principles more readily than churches on free gifts, and are kept up by annual visits from town centres in villages where there is no regular service or congregation. It is stated that pressure, or call it encouragement to adhesion, is as distinctly exercised now, in these days of religious liberty, by employers and leaders of Dissent, as it ever was by Churchmen in days when uniformity was the sentiment of the country. But if we have learnt, as I believe we have, our lessons about these ideas of the days of uniformity, that untrue methods work out their own condemnation, then we shall expect certainly reaction against those methods when employed by others.

It is our chief concern that the Parish Pastorate be true. That is the real Church work. In that lies the value and claim of the Church. Its main Church principle is not the maintenance of this or that set of tenets on controverted subjects, but that the Church is organized and established to be the instrument for maintaining and elevating Christian life and spirit through the whole country.

The Parochial System in the villages.

If threatening sounds are heard, that is the time for girding ourselves, as true men who, when the fight comes, feel the whole war depends each on his own self. In this war, if it does more than threaten enough to

remind us that threatened men live long, the issue will rest with the villages. The Parochial System has been the life of the English Church by its penetrating through the villages, and it is to that penetration that the Church is still apt to point as her strength. That strength rests on those village parsonages being the best and happiest homes of the land, and on the light of teaching, guidance and help which shines from them. The country parson may feel left in an outpost. His post is the post of danger and of honour. May all be faithful to their hard post! What help and encouragement can be given them from headquarters it would be folly as well as crime for their chiefs not to give. But it will not be on such encouragement that the duty of the most faithful will be based, but on their own hearts' unmoved loyal trust and allegiance to their own Master, to Whom alone they stand or fall; and Who has said to His servants whom He has put in trust for Him, and who have kept their trust: "Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

The Parochial System in the villages.

Disestablishment would alter the Church's power for good as much as Disendowment. It would mean the destruction of the Parochial System, which has been the Church's real influence. The clergy derive from their legal position the three things

Disestablishment, the destruction of the Parochial System.

Disestablishment, the destruction of the Parochial System.

which they value most: their freehold tenure, their freedom from clergy intrusion, their authority to pastor their whole parish. Laymen may fret at times under the first two privileges, till they contrast them with Nonconformist ministers' dependence, and their rival subdivisions after disputes.

Value of Parochial System to clergy.

But for the clergy the change would mean still more the loss of the authority which justifies their visiting their parish, not as volunteer philanthropic intruders, but as national officers appointed for this very thing and regarded as such. The unrivalled acquaintance with the poor and power to direct help for them, which the clergy are recognized to possess in East London, is in many cases independent of endowment, where men are maintained from voluntary resources, and might continue the same if the Church were disendowed; but it rests on their position as parsons of the parishes, which causes a claim and forms an introduction which would be destroyed by Disestablishment. Nonconformist ministers cannot do the same, if they would; but Disestablishment would neither make them able nor willing. The parson's position would not be divided, but destroyed. What advantage to the people this would be, what liberty or enlightenment or comfort or help any but secularists can see in this, is as puzzling as it is to say what benefit it is to children to debar them from the acquaintance and interest of the clergyman, who is to most

of them just the influence not supplied by their own surroundings.

Value of Parochial System to clergy.

It is all askew to make Church Establishment a question of equality between competing Bodies. It is a question of having appointed officers to do a particular great national work that won't be done without. If Churchmen suppose that the position of a National Church may be lightly surrendered, they have not, in my judgment, realized the difference in religious influence belonging to Congregational and Parochial Systems. For the clergy it might be easier work (and in our large towns we may see how readily clergy may drop into such a system), if their attention became limited to their congregation, over whom, too, some ecclesiastically minded clergy might (vainly) expect to exercise discipline; but the national social religious work of parochial clergy would have no authority, and cease.

Disestablishment means the giving up of the Parochial System. You must ever remember that it is on the Parochial System that villages rest for peace and happiness. In towns there are places of worship for everybody. It is in the villages mainly that the disadvantages of Disestablishment would be felt.

Can Nonconformity do the work of a National Church? Divided and only strong for aggression, but not for common action,

Value of Parochial System to clergy.

how can these Bodies do that national work? Can they say: "We will put a man in every village and every slum, to minister to the whole people, rich or poor, but specially the poor"? Is it not their failure that they can't provide for the poor? When they say: "Why are not Churchmen to provide for their own ministers as we do?" the answer is obvious. Endowments provide what the Voluntary System does not provide.

PART IV

THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE CONQUEST

"Facts are facts."

REMEMBER, facts that are history cannot be remade; we can but learn, we cannot alter them to suit our wishes. What evidence can we take but that of those who knew them? If you will invent, invent at your own risk—but if you will have Christian history, you must perforce learn from tradition and from authority, for that means history.

Early Church organization

In this I have before me the thought of the independence of parishes as members also of larger federations, in rural deaneries, archdeaconries, dioceses, provinces, National Churches, the Catholic or Universal Church. Apostles, and after them Bishops, founded, we know, the early Churches. But Bishops Suffragan, Rural Deans, and Archdeacons have, under different names, been Church officers from very early times. Abroad, Bishops Suffragan were in every town in Eastern and Southern Churches, and about the country too. In a later stage they

Early Church organization.

gave place to Archpresbyters no longer with Bishops' order, and these Archpresbyters in the East were Rural Deans in Latin countries. In England they are not found till later than Archdeacons, who are named in the ninth century Rural Deans, perhaps under Edward the Confessor. But both Archdeacons and Rural Deans were developed in need and numbers to meet the Ecclesiastical Courts set up after the Conquest, and formed a system parallel in grades and character to the secular officers in their districts. I do not mean to go into particulars about them, but only roughly to remind you how ancient our Church offices are.

Our Early Church presents the value attached to organization. The first Church "in" England, the British Church, had existed some four hundred years, I suppose; in very troublous times, no doubt. What they had been in the South before they were swept off the face of the country is a blank. But there were saints and great men in the North, names venerated still. They had their chance to be the Church of England. But the Council of Whitby * did not settle against them only on the Legate's assertion of the Petrine claim to the Keys; but surely on what they were instinctively felt to represent, the power of organization. The saints of the Northern Church were British, or rather Scotch, or really, in fact, rather Irish, and had very little organization

* A.D. 664.

in them. Their being called Abbots in Ireland evidences the aspect presented by them as rather Heads of Houses than Bishops, as might easily any day be the native view taken by (say) Bishop Patteson's scholars and islanders, of his office as presented most nearly to them. They may have been more saintly, but they had not the gift of administrative command; and when we imagine the Council of Whitby, we can understand a vigorous king seeing more substantial strength in their rivals.* To re-map the whole Island into provinces and dioceses that have formed the framework ever since, and made the kingdom of England, was an idea of size that marks the political grasp of a statesmanship accustomed to large provinces, such as our Church exhibits in mapping out Japan. Celtic tribal ideas and limitations could not have risen to it. It made a National Church. The Pope had not yet made his later ecclesiastical claims to universal submission, which Gregory I.† had actually denounced as an impious idea.

Early Church organization.

The framing of the National Church.

The second foundation of the Church in England (to call it so), then, began under Theodore‡ from the top, as a National Church, "autocephalous" still, divided into two provinces, and they, into their contained sees made on old territorial lines, which

The work of Archbishop Theodore.

* King Oswy judged in favour of Archbishop Wilfrid.

† Pope A.D. 590—604.

‡ Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668—690.

The work of Archbishop Theodore.

developed under them parishes in time, in more time archdeaneries, and not much later rural deaneries. Their National Church system, then, of twelve hundred years is the same as is now doing the same diocesan and parochial work in its network of spiritual, social, and philanthropic agencies, and in its clerical and lay officers. It seems as obvious to reason as in history that spiritual, no less than secular, work has to be done by men as its agents to other men; and that such agencies can, humanly speaking, only work confusion if not ordered on some regulated system. Christendom had never any doubt for fifteen centuries that Christ, through His Apostles and in the New Testament, formed a Church, not as an imaginary idea, but as a combination of real human beings to be brought to Him by organized human agencies, and to be brought together to Him in real, actual ways. That the Church was to be a visible Church, a real working Church, organized for teaching and worship and real living work, as a system and instrument for converting the world, was, I say, never doubted for fifteen hundred years, during which time what were handed down as the outlines of the original Church system were religiously observed. To combine united strength by organization with liberty of method and unearthliness of spirit is what the Church system has been training its reason and experience to make possible.

State and Church.

Before the State accepted the Church, of course, they were not connected, but that was not the ideal but the germinal Church condition. From the moment they were friends their mutual influence grew, and "the State had more to do with the Councils of the Church"—first in the General Councils, and then in the National Councils. To speak of *undue* growth of State influence in Church matters is to beg the question; and so it is to speak of *confusion* between civil and ecclesiastical legislation, as if they ought normally to be separate. Why ought religion to be more separate than other national interests? Who is to settle?

Councils and Witenagemots.

The English Church is our best instance. The joint action of Church and State in secular and ecclesiastical councils is referred to the Continental precedents. If it were so, it would be a strong confirmation of a general tendency to such joint action. It was the common Teutonic habit. But no such reference to Continental precedents or customs is apparent. It appears as the natural relation from the first. Civil and ecclesiastical measures were dealt with in the same assemblies and by the same persons as parts of one government. The administration of the Church was a separate department under its own officials, but not the legislation. Kingdoms were the dioceses, and their Councils were the Witenagemots. At the highest conciliar level, in the Councils

Councils and Witenagemots.

of Hertford * (where the union of the Heptarchic Churches was secured by Theodore, and no common State action was possible), and at Hatfield † (where the business was with the Churches abroad, for the Church of England then just formed to accept the five Œcumenical Councils and the Council ‡ just held by Pope Martin), the Bishops alone formed the Councils. But in the Councils affecting England, even in those of Clovesho,§ the contemplated seat of regular Synods, and even in the Legatine Councils of the eighth century, kings and nobles took part and signed as members.

The tendency was to develop, not diminish, their joint action. The ecclesiastical legislation of Ine, Alfred, Ethelred, and Canute was, equally with the temporal, transacted with the Council of the Witan. Bishop Stubbs‖ points out that even the more distinctly ecclesiastical Synods, which, like the Councils of Clovesho, issued canons and spiritual dooms of their own, admitted the great counsellors of the kingdoms to their sittings, and allowed their acts to be confirmed by lay subscriptions. That the spiritual Witan prepared the enactments there can be no doubt; but it would be unsafe to argue in reference to the spiritual dooms of the general Witenagemots that

* A.D. 673. † A.D. 680.
‡ Lateran Council, A.D. 649. § Eighth century.
‖ "Constitutional History," vol. i., chap. vi., § 53, p. 129, ed. 1875.

this participation of the lay Witan was admitted simply to give public or legal ratification to the resolutions of the clergy. It is more probable that the distinction between spiritual and temporal authorization was very lightly drawn. The Legatine Councils of A.D. 787, which in their very nature were entirely ecclesiastical, were attended by kings and ealdormen, as well as by bishops and abbots, and must therefore be reckoned as true Witenagemots. Councils and Witenagemots.

Bishop Stubbs* makes it clear that the most entirely ecclesiastical councils were true Witenagemots where kings and nobles asked no leave of clergy to take their own part in what was their own business. Two centuries later, the bishop says: "Whether purely conciliar action ceased, or whether the assimilation of the National Witenagemots to the older Ecclesiastical Councils renders it difficult to distinguish between lay and spiritual assemblies, the result is the same. There are few, if any, distinctly ecclesiastical Councils of the tenth century in England, and every royal code contains large ecclesiastical regulations. The abundant bodies of canons which exist are clad either in the form of Constitutions, such as those of Odo and Edgar, or of private compilations, such as those of Ælfric. It would almost seem as if the union between Church and State had become so intimate as to supersede one of the most important

* *Loc. cit.*, vol. i., chap. viii., § 89.

Councils and Witenagemots.

functions of the former. . . . It is, perhaps, most probable that business of both sorts was transacted in the same assemblies, as was done in the Councils of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."

Such is the testimony of our great constitutional historian to the union of Church and State in England till the Conquest introduced the foreign principle of their separation, at least in judicature. I will not call it an English Church custom, because I believe Spain and Germany resembled England in their united Councils. But uniformity in such conciliar relations was clearly not essential, and history presents the English Church from the first, through its English period, as not legislating for itself separately from the State, and only holding diocesan Synods as part of administration.

PART V

CHURCH LAW

Church Law.

It was reasonable in the transition stage of growth that the domain of Church law should have comprised, besides ecclesiastical affairs pure and simple, jurisdiction over matrimonial and testamentary cases, and such spiritual cases as were reckoned sin, not crime. Owing to the more advanced stage in government reached in England when Church and State came to definite issue and demarcation between the Courts, and specially to the strong legislative wills of William and the two Henrys, much less domain was given to Church law in England than abroad; particularly in regard to Church property, titles, lands, tithes and especially advowsons, which were admitted by every one, the Church as well as State, to be property, and saleable temporal property. It was certainly reasonable for the finer questions to be Church law, until the age of lawyers came just at the time for contesting its domain and then for encroaching more and more upon it, with equally good reason.

Church law, apart from State law, could

Its development and specialization.

only begin under Henry III., when canons began under Stephen Langton * ; and then Parliaments were beginning too, destined to be more fatal to it than kings or lawyers. And reasonable as Church law was in its departments and in its appeals, in the state of religious ideas and clerical capacity as well as of kingly and baronial rule and morality at that time, yet again, when the time came for its subjection, that was reasonable too. I do not say that the processes in any of the stages of its growth or decadence were reasonable—that is not now my question—but at the bottom of the changes, however effected, there was good reason. The clergy intruded into every private concern of life as the domain of sin and penance and confession and indulgence ; and a system of extortion (chiefly Papal, but alleged bitterly against the clergy, with abuses of place and patronage, without redress to laymen, and the evils of the " benefit of clergy " and their separateness), had possessed the country with hostile feeling, before Henry VIII. resolved on his policy of absorbing the clergy in the nation. But Papal appeals were the centre of the system, and Papal appeals could not survive the fatal unfitness for national arbitration shown by the Pope in Henry VIII.'s suit about his marriage with Catharine of Arragon.

Churchmen had fully matched laymen in administering law ; Bishops had been among

* Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1207–1229.

the greatest Justiciars and Chancellors. It may be at least reasonable to question whether they did not make better law than lawyers in the departments divided with temporal Courts: *ergo*, whether the law of personalty is not better than that of realty, and whether it is not true that if an elder son were legitimized by marriage he ought to inherit. But when the feudal and military ideas ceased to dominate, and learning became lay as well as clerical, and common and statute law was growing, and Parliament was growing, and the Throne was growing, and the nation was growing, and religious controversy was growing, and modern history began, the time was come to make the law national. It could not fail to be specialized professionally. Its development and specialization.

Let me call your attention to this question. In what state did Henry VIII. place or leave Church law? The two points are: (1) What existing Church law was recognized? (2) What future power of Church legislation? Many questions have been raised about subsequent Church law in regard to the limitations attached to the legislative body. The changes made in the position of Convocation were: Firstly, that whereas since Henry III. and Stephen Langton, the Constitutions of the provincial Synod had force simply on the Archbishop's sanction to the Synod's resolutions, canons now to be of effect in law must be laid before the Crown, and approved and confirmed by Changes under Henry VIII.

Changes under Henry VIII.

letters patent under the Great Seal. This is no more than William I. insisted upon, nor more than is true of Acts of Parliament. Secondly, that whereas before Archbishops could summon Synods, not only at the King's direction, but also at their own discretion, since 1534, Convocation must always be assembled by authority of the King's writ, directing the Archbishop to summon it. But this, again, is true of Parliament, nor does the statute distinguish the duty of the Crown to summon Convocation from its duty to call Parliament. Thirdly, that no canon, constitution, or ordinance shall be made or put in execution by the authority of the Convocation of the clergy which shall be contrariant or repugnant to any of the customs of the realm. None of these provisions were contrariant to the ancient English or Norman customs, but, still, the temporary Church independence ceased.

Convocation.

The position of Convocation was peremptorily asserted by Elizabeth, who forbade the Commons to entertain Bills about religious matters without Convocation. Still more observably was it asserted by Parliament itself in 1689, when both Houses petitioned that William III. should issue writs to call a Convocation of the clergy, on the occasion of the Comprehension Liturgy being proposed. Suspended as Convocation was for a long interval, it was not by the Crown, but by the Church that that was done.

English National Councils before the Con-

quest were, as I have said, Witenagemots of Bishops and Statesmen. The 139th canon of 1604 speaks of the "Sacred Synod of this Nation," but no occasion of its meeting as one body is known. We know the great occasions when all the clergy were represented in joint concurrence to accept and present the Prayer Books. But they were not one body, but acted in joint concurrence. In those times the two Provincial Convocations retained still their original duty of conferring about their subsidies. But since 1664, when the clergy acquiesced silently, whether for political or financial reasons, in being merged in the general taxation and franchise of citizens, that duty has ceased; and no occasions of meeting exist, except on most elaborate exchanges of interprovincial diplomacy. Archæologists may suggest that, their State business no longer existing, Churchmen who would follow the best precedents should dissolve so uncatholic an assembly, and leave Church legislation to the Bishops and Statesmen who constituted the only National Councils ever known in the English Church. To me, who values a pound of fact above a ton of fancy, such a suggestion seems trifling. We have to begin with what exists; and though archæology and history may justify the Archbishops who suspended the action of Convocation from 1708 to 1852, the Church opinion which caused its revival has reconstituted its recognition.

Convocation.

PART VI

THE CONTINUITY OF THE CHURCH

The Church in England has never separated.

I DESIRE to present to you one character of the Church of England about which the faith of Churchmen seems constantly bewildered. The Church of England stands the one Church which has never separated from any Church or person. I speak of this, because, while many points of our Church's position have been cleared up to her people by better information lately, their answers on this point seem still uncertain.

The Church of England has never separated from any one. Some people say this is not true: others say, so much the worse for her. The first mean that she separated from Rome or that she drove out Nonconformists. The second mean, some, that schism is glorious! Dissent for Dissent's sake is noble! every man is his own Church; others, that Christians ought to form a perfect Church of saints on earth and come out from the unclean thing and be separate from the world.

Meaning of the term "*Establishment.*"

Now I fancy that I observe some weakness in Churchmen's replies to such positions. The history of Church endowments is better understood than it was, and the relation of Church to State. Men will be able to deal with cavillers about the word Establishment, though indeed had the Church been established by Parliament, I see no discredit that would attach to that form of national acceptance any more than to its acceptance by chieftains, kings, and Witenagemots. It would still mean, not making, but accepting the Church's doctrines and system. Still, as a fact, the word was first introduced in documents as a big word, not to express "*set up by law*," but to express "*fully settled, recognized, and existing.*" Recent discussions seem to have cleared up fogs from these questions of temporalities. But when the Church is called only one sect among many, or is said to have taken the place of a Romish Church, or is said to have herself seceded from Rome, or is said to have been the creation of Henry VIII., or of Acts of Parliament, these statements are rarely met on the historical facts as fully and directly as they should be. They touch another set of minds from those which harp on titles to property; but the minds which they perplex, deserve, perhaps, the most help to their conscience and knowledge. And yet the case of the English Church is as plain and complete in this respect as in respect to her property. We have got used now

Meaning of the term "*Establishment*."

to old "historic references," and when flaws are alleged in our title deeds, we have learnt not to surrender to opponents' claims without examining them. The strange thing is that popular delusions have been so far allowed to be created and pass current, that it seems incredible that they have been delusions. I think, therefore, that it is wise to repeat, and repeat, and repeat—even to you, many of whom have been repeating it I am sure, more ably and strongly than I can—that they are delusions. I will name six:

Six Delusions. 1. That the Church of England was formerly Roman.

1. It is a delusion that the Church was ever Roman, or ever acknowledged as a Church any subjection to the Pope, or any other relation but that of an independent English Church (or Churches), established by the preaching of missionaries from Rome, accepted by kings and people of what we call England.

2. That she seceded from Rome

2. It is a delusion that the Church of England seceded or separated from Rome: as indeed she could not, if she was always independent of her. She was, in fact, so insular that she had no occasion even to protest, as the German Protestants at Spires.* She renounced certain prominent mediæval errors promulgated from Rome; and at a certain stage in her reform the Pope desired all English who would follow him to withdraw from attending English Church services; and so the Pope made a (not very large) Roman schism in England, which

* A.D. 1530.

remains till this day in our English Roman Catholic bodies.

3. It is a delusion that the Church of England was a different Church after the Reformation from before; any more than England is a different country because she has abrogated the slave trade, or had a Reform Bill; or than a drunkard's personal identity is lost if he reforms. 3. That she was a different Church after the Reformation.

4. It is a delusion that King, Queen, or Parliament either reformed the Church or ordered that the Pope should no longer be her head. The Church declared, what she had repeatedly testified on occasions of encroachment, that the Pope never had any more authority over her than any other foreign bishop. Civil enactments maintained that declaration at home and abroad, in secular action upon it. 4. That she was reformed by Civil powers.

5. It is a delusion that the recognition of the Royal Supremacy meant or means any spiritual headship, or anything else than what had always been asserted, that the clergy of England, as well as the laity, were and are subject to English law without appeal against it to a foreigner like the Pope; and that the last appeal of all alike is to the Sovereign. It is strange in the face of the very clear and strong words of Henry and Elizabeth that any delusion on this exists. 5. About meaning of Royal Supremacy.

6. It is a delusion that Parliament settled the Church of England, or even that the Church is subject to Parliament now, except in matters affecting personal or property 6. That Parliament settled doctrine.

6. That Parliament settled doctrine.

rights. The Church reformed her errors herself; her Prayer Book and her Articles are her own work. The Act of Submission, which is the limitation of her action, is in theory no more for her than for Parliament itself. It requires Convocation, as the Conqueror required, to be summoned by the Sovereign, as Parliament itself must be; and it requires that canons must have royal assent for their enactment, just as Acts of Parliament themselves must have it. That has been the relation of Councils and princes since Christianity was a recognized religion. Personal and property rights cover a great deal of ground, and civil compulsion in such matters can only be derived from Acts of Parliament: but Church authority is often of as much importance as civil force for obtaining action in Church matters; and the limitation upon that is not Parliament, but the Crown, as it has always been in England, at least since the Conqueror resolved in that manner the haziness then growing over the relations between Synod and Witenagemot.

In these six statements of delusions have I been repeating stale and elementary facts of Church history? I repeat, and repeat—

The Church of England always resisted Papal aggression.

the Church of England was never Roman, but always National; has never changed, but has been always herself; has never made any schism from any one, but every schism from her has been made by others. The mediæval Pope was a commanding outsider;

and kings, bishops, nobles, monks, when English law was against them at home, or when they wanted extraneous help for some violation of law, would each in turn go and ask the Pope.

The Church of England always resisted Papal aggression.

The Conqueror, before he was an Englishman, went and asked the Pope when he wanted to conquer England. Stephen went and asked the Pope when he wanted to usurp the throne. Henry II. went and asked the Pope when he wanted to conquer Ireland. And when John was rejected by England he went to the Pope, and gave him what he had not to give. In like manner, smaller people in chapters, sees, and monasteries, when they were beaten at home, went to tell the Pope; but they got little by it. England—Church and nation—spoke plainly enough. The Conqueror filled England with foreign ecclesiastics, who had had allegiance to the Pope in other countries, and brought their ideas with them; but the Conqueror said: "Fealty to the Pope I never promised, and my predecessors never paid." The Constitutions of Clarendon spoke as plainly in Henry II.'s time as the Act of Supremacy in Henry VIII.'s, that there was no appeal for clergy any more than for laity from English law to foreign powers. Magna Charta was the protest of freedom for the English Church from Papal Legates, as well as for English people from violation of rights. Henry III. certainly desired the Bishop of

The Church of England always resisted Papal aggression.

London to acknowledge a Papal Legate, and when he said: "He would sooner be hanged than that the liberty of our Church should be subjected to such an overthrow," Henry III. said he would go to the Pope. But the Bishop spoke the temper of England all through the ages of Papal aggression: "King and Pope may be stronger than I, and take away my bishopric, but if they take my mitre they will change it into a helmet." Three centuries of foreign ecclesiastics and of monasteries, during wars and factions, spread Roman ideas more widely in England in the days of York and Lancaster, till they worked reaction into Reformation. The culmination of those ideas in Henry VIII., our one real Papist king before the Reformation, presents, in the story of Wolsey's elevation and fall, a parable of Papal aggression in England, in the false motives that acted in high places both for and against it, in the general popular and clerical denial of it, in the martyrdom of highest characters for it or against it, according as low motives were against or for it and in the final fall when final issue was joined.

Henry VIII. our one Papist king.

The Reformation no innovation.

The Reformed Church of England made no innovation in doctrine or system, like reformed churches on the Continent. What she did at the Reformation was this: she returned from foreign mediæval innovations to the earlier English Church principles; she restored her early sacramental doctrine;

she began again to translate the Bible; she revived married parish clergy; she asserted the national union of Church and State, and repudiation of foreign interference; all which were marks of the original Churches of Saxon England. When the Roman Council of Trent* formulated and imposed its innovations, if Rome stigmatized as secessionists those who refused to abandon their ancient Catholic Church principles for such a new departure, that stigma was but what we see now in English politics, when sudden converts to a new departure brand as secessionists their comrades who refuse to abandon principles which were held universal. The Reformation no innovation.

The Church of England neither seceded nor protested, but reformed. England has therefore nothing to withdraw for the purpose of union with Rome; it is for Rome to withdraw her separation. Independent National Churches may regulate ceremonies and discipline for themselves, and communion between National Churches need not imply complete agreement. No English Churchman wishes to Romanize his Church by sacrificing English Church principles where they differ, though many must regret the false step taken by Rome in breaking off communion, to which is due the separate and schismatic existence of Roman Catholic bodies in England now.

The Church of England made no schism from Rome, though Rome did from Eng-

* A.D. 1545–1563.

The Reformation no innovation.

land; nor has the Church of England made any schism from Nonconformists. Her principle is: "Reform; or, if you can't, protest against defects in the Church, and try still to reform within the Church, but don't secede." Their principle is: "Reform, or if you can't, secede." They form sects, and advocate schism. Whether they are right or wrong in doing so is the question with them, not whether they do so. This they profess.

The term "*Sect*" examined.

For one moment let me speak of the word *Sect*. Words are dreadful things—like the tongue itself, a little member, but a world of iniquity. You will hear people say: "The Church of England is only one among many sects"; not meaning that the Church is one and the sects many, but that the Church is a sect like the others, with an intention to disparage her thereby, which shows an instinct that she ought not to be a sect. Probably the phrase is due to pure misuse of an obscure word, as if Sect meant quite a different word, *section*—i.e. part or division, whereas sect means *following*, the followers of some individual teacher against received thought, usually upon some particular question. The sting of the word lies in this meaning, which does not apply to the Church, which represented the received thought from which followers of individual teachers separated upon particular questions: the Brownists on Mr. Browne's idea of congregations; the

Quakers, on Mr. Fox's idea of externals in religion; the Wesleyans, on Wesley's idea of Methodical spirituality; and so with the long list of "ites," and "ists," and "ans" affixed to proper names, all separated from the Church which held the common truth, as followers of some one man on some one question. So they are sects in the true meaning of the word, which the Church is not. There ought to be no offence in this. It is unmannerly to be always talking pedigrees, but on the occasions where a pedigree is the question, it must be talked about. Sects are sects, and, whether rightly or wrongly, have made schisms: which is not true of the Church. Churchmen ought to be quite distinct that the Church of England does, as matter of historical fact, stand on an absolutely different level in this respect from the sects, which have separated from it.

The term "*Sect*" examined.

I do not propose to discuss this level as if reunion were possible — that is a distinct question—nor do I speak at all now about relations existing or possible or desirable between the Church and the other bodies. But I will offer two remarks, one historical, the other practical, and I offer them for our own consideration rather than for others. I put aside the stock recriminations as to the causes of dissent, whatever truth there is on each side—one imputing all blame to Church apathy and unspirituality, the other to vanity, pique, selfwill, love of power or

The term "*Sect*" examined.

quarrel. Let us hope that each may rise above these faults now.

Primitive Christianity condemns schism.

But I observe that the argument "It is Primitive" is put in the place of the more undesirable argument "I choose," for both the chief aims which have led to dissent, i.e. both for the Puritans' aim at perfection in a Church of unmixed saints, and for the Independents' aim at liberty from authority in Independent congregations. On this historical issue I offer this consideration to you. *The test of a custom's existence must be its recognition when first asserted, agreed and decided.* Now these two aims were, if not the very first two, among the very first issues raised and settled by the early Christians. As soon as Christians arose who desired to separate into a body of more perfect saints than the whole Church, that question was discussed. As soon as Christians arose who claimed to associate independently as they liked in a place where a *paroikia* was organized, that question was discussed. In both cases the view was decided not to be the Christian rule or custom. It was not that it was unwise to have such customs nor only that Scripture authority was against them; that tares and wheat were to remain both together till the harvest to be separated by better than earthly judges; that the Churches of S. Paul's epistles present that principle; that the instance, "I am of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Christ," was met indignantly by S. Paul, with "Is Christ

divided ?"—but: "We have no such custom, neither the Churches of God." Not only is the Spirit of the New Testament clear against both principles of division, but the judgment pronounced on the first appearance of the two ideas was in each case that it was not the custom of the Primitive Christians. Churchmen ought to be quite distinct on this historical point, that, while independent local Churches in separate territories form the Church's law of the independence of national Churches; French, English, Italian, etc., there is no primitive use or authority either for hostile Christian bodies in the same place, or for Pharisaical Churches within and above the Church general.

Primitive Christianity condemns schism.

The Church is sadly miscellaneous from her true belief that it is her very duty to be open to every grade of soul so far as each soul will enter in: not to be a social club of perfect saints but an educational body to make all men better, saints to leaven sinners, not to say they are righteous and to despise others. She may ask the Puritan: "Have you got your saints whom you can trust with your money and your family, angelically above cheating, self-indulgence, cruelty, and spite?" She may ask the Independent: "Have your separate congregations held their people, without splits and subdivisions, carrying your own principle out to absurdity? Have your separate congregations no need of congregational unions,

Failure of schism.

Failure of schism.

and of chief visitors, in fact, of a large organization very like the Church? Have your bodies greater freedom except for some deacon's own will? or are deacons and congregations better fitted to make articles of faith than general or national Councils? or are they better standards of liberty and truth for preachers?" She might even ask: "Can men who read the story of Mr. Browne, or the other founders of sects, see any signs of exceptional wisdom or revelation, on which to exalt them above the united belief of Christian centuries?" She may ask these questions as to the wisdom and success of their choice.

Reform from within a higher way than separation.

But she would ask better, in my judgment: if the higher spirits which seceded could not have found their place in the continuous Church, without a breach with the great brotherhood and with the past? Whether the spiritual good worked by them has not been worked by the common spirit of good in teaching and in devotion, which existed in them before separation and while still within the Church, and which has been the life of the Church itself? And then let her ask herself whether the needs which caused over-hasty breaches in the past may not wisely be met in the Church for the future, to the avoidance of those weaknesses and positive evils which have been due to divisions, and have marred all the good done by those who have divided? It is true

that saints require inner circles for happiness and their strongest life to help one another, even to be helps to those in less complete Christian sympathy with their piety. Souls yearn for complete sympathy and union, at least, at times and seasons. But cannot their need be better satisfied by unions within the Church, for higher aims and for help in deeper religious earnestness—associations, guilds, brotherhoods, societies—without the negative side of condemning or excluding the less sympathizing from all communion in one Church, as far as they will share it? This would not be forming churches within the Church, or "dividing Christ," but making platforms on the same ladder of the Church, to which all its members may mount as soon and as far as they can keep on the same level of Christian advance upwards.

Reform from within a higher way than separation.

Again, a rigid uniformity was more than all could or would bear, when divers temperaments, divers wishes, divers personal habits were refused all consideration, and the law of the Church was straitened from old freedom under the wholesomeness of variety. May we not learn to carry out again more fully that principle in which the Church of England was unique in combining old things and new, in keeping old liturgies and adding what was felt to be wanting? Can we not enlarge considerately the borders of elasticity to meet our varied people's wants? Cannot our Church provide guards to satisfy her people that her teaching and worship will

Reform from within a higher way than separation.

be faithfully preserved, and yet its methods be shaped freely ?

Bounds there must be. Individuals can't have separate arrangements to please each one exactly. The leading laymen in each parish must set examples to the people of deferring their own convenience to that of their weaker and more helpless brothers.

And the clergy must bear in mind their Ordination caution, to feed but not be lords over their flock ; to exalt no one system or theory into essentials upon their own feeling, nor insist on an uniformity in their own Church which excludes part of their people from any happy worship ; but to see how they can offer such varied opportunities and aspects of worship, as each generation in its ever-shifting religious life needs, in one way for half their people, in another for the rest.

We have much independent congregationalism in our Church, and the bonds of union must not be too tight fetters to destroy life ; only if such independence is to keep union and not cause disunion in the Church, two principles must limit it : Firstly : That recognized existing law must not be disobeyed though it may be altered. Secondly : That a parish system must not be a despotism of clergymen over people or people over clergymen, but based on mutual understanding between them in frank mutual trust and self-denying Christian considerateness. Such true and lawful degrees of independent con-

gregationalism in the Church ought to meet the English desire for independence, without sacrificing the English desire for law and certainty.

Reform from within a higher way than separation.

Seeing, as all must see, the fearful weakness caused to religion by our divisions, which have made hatred the spirit of religion in the place of love, the hindrance to all Foreign Missions due to them, the hindrances at home due to their jealousies, I have desired to put before you, as Churchmen, the historical fact that the Church of England has never been guilty of schism from anybody. The Greek Church separated from Rome, Rome from England, Lutherans and Calvinists separated from Rome, English Nonconformists from the Church of England ; but the Church of England has simply kept her own independent national position, no negative position of hostility to others, but her positive unaltered character of the branch of the Catholic Church in England.

PART VII

THE RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO THE PAPACY

The "trunk"-delusion about the Pope's relation to England.

THE "trunk"-delusion (as Americans call one from which others branch) about the relations of the Pope to England seems to be the simple belief of many readers of histories, that whatever the Pope claimed was his right; and so, that, whenever kings or people repudiated the Pope's claims, they were infringing Papal rights, instead of (as they really were) resisting Papal aggressions. One special form of this "trunk"-delusion is the idea that an Act of Parliament to forbid something shows that the country had before that Act recognized the forbidden thing as right.

Now, histories of the political game so long played all over Europe by popes against kings, are in the habit (either for brevity, or presuming the general bearings to be known) of simply stating the actions of the two parties in the game, and so they will repeatedly say: "The Pope did so and so," without saying each time: "Remember this was only the Pope's move in his game." So readers carelessly infer that what the Pope

is said to have done, he had the right and power to do.

The "trunk" delusion about the Pope's relation to England.

But one example, which all can understand, presents what is true of all the many statements of this kind. "Pope Innocent"* (so state some popular books) "annulled Magna Charta," (!) alleging that England was made a fief of his by John.† Now, does any Englishman believe that Magna Charta was ever annulled by Pope or any one else? Of course not. But the Pope claimed and professed to do so, as he claimed many other things on equally unrecognized grounds, like many other claimants before and since. It was his game. But did the country or Church give in to it? No. The same is true of other Papal claims.

It is indeed strange that any advocate of Papal supremacy in England should refer to John's reign. Claims based on that have the merit of recognizing that these claims are not made for earlier times. But no one possessed of the slightest historical sense can read the course of events and feeling in England in regard to the actions of John, without acknowledging that John's submission to the Pope was marked in every way to be an "exception that proves the rule," that England was not subject to the Pope. Why else, indeed, did he submit as a new step? His action caused, no doubt, confusion for the moment while Church and country were bewildered by the

* Innocent III., A.D. 1198–1216. † A.D. 1215.

The "trunk" delusion about the Pope's relation to England.

emergency; but it was only for a moment. Magna Charta marked their recovery.

"But the Pope's interdict was obeyed through England." This may be taken, not only as the extreme example of the exception proving the rule (for no such intervention ever had effect again), but it shows what the nature of the Papal power was. The clergy of England began: they asserted some claims against John; and went off secretly to ask the Pope. Did John recognize the Pope or any supremacy of his? He dealt such extremities to the clergy as drove them all into rebellion; and they all went to ask the Pope. To relieve them from this oppression the Pope put an interdict into the hands of the Bishops. What was this? It was, no doubt, an excommunication of the land from the rest of Christendom, which was an appalling idea. But its practical claim to obedience lay in its telling the clergy that their way to resist the King was to suspend their ministrations through the land, and so make a feeling against John. In other words, it was not a Papal edict forced on an unwilling clergy out of obedience to a Supreme Head. But the Bishops regarded it as pressure on John, which they held back as long as they hoped to succeed in appeals to John; and then published at their own time to a willing clergy, in whose cause it was issued. But when John was reduced to surrender to the Pope, and the Pope began to claim obedience in England,

did the Church then agree with John that the Pope was supreme? With all that he owed the Pope, the Archbishop stood as resolute against Pope as against King; and Innocent gave way and "would send no legate to England while Langton was Archbishop." The surrender of John to the Pope was itself due (as all readers of that history know), not to the Pope's interdict, but to the Pope's successful use of his customary method of influencing European kings who quarrelled with him, by setting some other Powers upon them. Innocent found an ally, willing and able to enforce his excommunication, in that faithful son of the Church, the King of France, who was only too glad of the excuse for putting the required pressure on his rebellious vassal, John.

The "trunk" delusion about the Pope's relation to England.

But people say: "How do you account for the Pope having such a following in England? does not that show his rights?" No doubt the Papal Court was a great moral and spiritual Church centre in Europe, and Churchmen of education and culture looked out to that centre for its opinion from amid the uneducated roughness and military secularism of Norman England; and besides this reasonable regard, political popes did no doubt foster, by various influences, a following for definite aggrandizement, with success proportioned to the character of popes and kings. Mixed motives made Papal partisans in England as well as abroad. Foreigners were the chief instrument. And

The "trunk" delusion about the Pope's relation to England.

this foreign element in England grew in caste and doctrine, till reaction led to the Reformation. Does that show Papal right to supremacy? Has Russia rights of supremacy in Bulgaria now (in 1886), because she has a faction for her against the constitution, because she claims to name her officers, and was not above attempting to make away with her prince, much as Papal conspirators in England aimed at doing with Elizabeth? Do not, in fact, Papal factions and Papal methods evidence clearly aggression and not supremacy?

But people ask, what is meant by an Act for "extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome," if it did not exist? Or, again, why were certain payments forbidden to be longer made to the Pope, if he had no claim to them before as Head of the Church? Now, these questions have three answers.

Firstly: Forbidding Acts do not imply that what they forbid was right until they forbade it. Factory Acts forbid certain hours and ways of labour, but they don't therefore show that those hours were acknowledged before. They only show that the Legislature had not before cared to interfere with them in that way, whether because they had not been noticed, or had latterly grown or had been dealt with otherwise before.

Secondly: The payments referred to were not universal, as they would have been to the recognized Head, and are therefore themselves evidence the other way. They were,

in fact, of two kinds. Of one the origin is obscure, but seems reasonably referred to calls made on all Churches for the Crusades, and paid to the Pope as European centre; and then converted to the Pope's maintenance. These were restrained by Edward I., and though he (historians say, weakly) allowed existing payments to continue, any extension of them was forbidden. The other arose from benefices being, from different motives, placed in the Pope's "patronage"; the Popes would not fill them up without bargaining for the first year's income. This extortion from benefices of which they had the appointments to sell, the Popes tried to extend to others not belonging to their "patronage." But the clergy resisted this encroachment, stating clearly the limitation of Papal "patronage." Neither kind of payment was general as to a Supreme Head. The limitations in both cases dispose of such a title.

The "trunk" delusion about the Pope's relation to England.

Thirdly: Many people wonder that an Act for "extinguishing the authority" of Mr. Parnell in Ireland has not been passed.* He is styled by orators, King of Ireland. Owing to a special sentiment of mixed motives, he has a following that defies authority and passes as national. He levies contributions against the Constitution, not from Ireland only but across the Atlantic. But is Mr. Parnell really King of Ireland? or if an Act were passed forbidding contri-

* Written in 1886.

butions to be paid any longer to him, would that show that he had been king up to that time ?

The Reformation and Council of Trent.

I shall not discuss here the doctrinal questions of the Reformation. Only, when people assert that Romanists represent the Church of the fourteenth century in England, they forget strangely how the Roman Church since the Council of Trent, and much more the modern Roman Church of Papal Infallibility, have parted company doctrinally from the Church of the fourteenth century. Doctrinally, as well as corporately, the Church of England represents the Church of that century much more truly than Romanists do.

It will be understood that I have not in this paper been making reference to any modern pretensions of present Roman Catholic bodies in England. All that had to be said of them is said, but they are not before our consideration. My remarks have been directed against a confusion strangely existing about the independent character of the Church of England before the sixteenth century; her relations to the Papacy before that time; and her continuity as the branch of the Catholic Church in England before and after her Reformation.

The continuity of our Church is no argument for superseding the last 300 years, as if our Church was a new Church created by John. Our Church goes back beyond John

and his submission to Innocent, beyond the Conquest and its limited deference to Hildebrand, to the genuine English Church of the first millennium with its doctrines and national relations. The three mediæval centuries of Roman submission were the great *break* in its continuity—not its continuity. It was competent for England to accept Roman jurisdiction in the thirteenth century; it was competent for her to withdraw that voluntary acceptance in the sixteenth; it would be no less competent for her to return again into union with it in the twentieth, if she saw fit. But until she does it is not competent for any private person to assert Roman jurisdiction or teaching as part of our Church system. Reform implies continuity, but it implies also reform. Mediæval usages, days, forms, customs, which have been reformed, are not now part of our system because they were once. Sarum Use and missal, for example, has no place as a document of other than historical interest since it was superseded. Use of it as patchwork on what was substituted completely for it is contrary both to the spirit and the letter of our present Church laws. It must be brought back by the Church into use before any private following of it in Church is legitimate.

The Reformation and Council of Trent.

The Archbishop of Canterbury holds a special position in our special English Church system, and that position contains such

The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

practical possibilities, that I shall occupy a few moments to present to you what has not been sufficiently recognized. Metropolitans generally were a second stage in the Church system, to be heads over many previously existing bishops in a province, as recently our Colonial daughter Churches have federated themselves by erecting archbishopries. In England the Archbishop of Canterbury came first, and formed the other sees and bishops The kings asked the Pope to commend them a man for the archbishopric; and, on his selection, Theodore was appointed Archbishop (A.D. 668), and linked the tribal kingdoms in a Church unity by creating suffragan sees under Canterbury. Subsequent changes of province did not alter this.

Through all the Archbishop of Canterbury was the first counsellor of the king; as he still, from his historic origin, is first in precedence among the royal councillors. In the English Church pure and simple, (which, before the Conquest, had one Council with the State for matters civil and ecclesiastical,) his precedence marked that union. When the Conqueror transformed the English Church into a French Church by the specially foreign system of separating secular and ecclesiastical Courts and Councils, he still dealt with the Normanized Church through the Archbishop; and Norman kings could write to the Archbishop about their Great Council "as my and your Council." Even when the fear of the second French conquest

drove John to put himself under Papal protection, and, so far as in him lay, by some power never before acknowledged, to Latinize the Normanized Church, yet, even then, it was but for the moment a foreign legation overshadowed the Archbishop. The great statesman Pope, like the great statesman Conqueror, saw the situation enough to revive that most statesmanlike fiction, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was *legatus natus*; and after Stephen Langton's assertion of his claims no foreign Legate came to England, save in the times of anarchy. As Archbishop, Peccham * may have been more than Papal, and so have started the reaction back towards the English Church principles. Yet he was not a foreign Legate, but, as English Archbishop, a link of personal identity, even in its Norman and Latin styles, of the National Church of England. The Reformation, as the historian Freeman shows elaborately, brought back the old English relations of Church and State, as exactly as that age admitted, to the position at the Conquest; and the Act of Uniformity of 1559 again joined Sovereign and Archbishop as authorities.

The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

We want no Pope, the most Catholic-minded say, in due appreciation of the Pope's uncatholicity. We want no Pope at Canterbury, I have been more strong than others in saying when Lambeth was invited to a Pan-Anglican Patriarchate of a universal

* A.D. 1278–1294.

The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bishop over all Churches of our communion. I rejoice that our daughter Churches have asserted independence; and I hope they may grow to form a world-wide Council, able to maintain, correct, develop in breadth and freedom what things at first they must wisely accept from their mother, as their mother in her infancy learnt her lessons from hers. Grown-up children help parents best when not in leading-strings. No Pope at Canterbury. No!—but an Archbishop, and (chiefly for my present purpose) one to stand as recognized representative of our Church to the power representative of the State. This is the State-Church or Church-State place assigned him in the Act of 1559, not regulating his Church relation to Bishops of the Church, but to the State.

PART VIII

ENDOWMENTS AND TITHES

Church endowments.

It is a matter for reflection, how it is that there are any clergy paid (as one-fourth at any rate in Southwell Diocese are paid) less, as a business man lately expressed it, than a third-rate office clerk. So long as England wishes, as I hope she always will wish, to have a married clergy, and men worthy to hold the office; and their incomes are stationary, except from fall of values, and do not rise with years of service as their obligations do, I don't think that they can be called overpaid. Do not mistake me to blame any one. I know no one to blame. If the endowment might be larger, it is yet an endowment such as only our parishes have, and our parishes must be grateful for. Its nature as an endowment creates some of the difficulties about enlarging it. A feeling rises that an endowed place is provided, and it must be presumed to be properly provided.

I shall not venture at this time to forecast the precise forms in which the close of the nineteenth century will seek to supplement the endowments given mainly in the old

Church endowments.

time, before the mediæval influence of the Papal connection took what it could from "the English milch cow," but added nothing to the Church resources. History may tell of monasteries and of schools and colleges developed by opposite tendencies in the three centuries of Roman influence. But when men talk of our Church endowments as having been given for Roman Catholics, history replies that Pre-Reformation endowments belong to the days before the Conquest, when Church system and doctrines were the same as now; and that the Papal days only diverted existing income from parishes to other establishments, turned livings into curacies or vicariates in true sense, and despoiled the parish clergy as far as possible. The Statute of Mortmain * was desired not long after the Fourth Lateran Council and John's submission, the movement for that statute beginning immediately.

Parochial endowments not Roman.

The increase of our endowments does not belong to the unsettled centuries which alone have any claim to be called Roman in England, and during which was going on, from first to last, a growing struggle of the country in resistance to foreign central extortion and encroachment. The lay struggle left alone for three centuries clergy appeals to Rome, if they did not affect the State; but it stopped aggrandizement of Church property very soon. As with more spiritual rule, the abuses of privileges were

Parochial endowments diverted, not created, by Papal.

* Enacted A.D. 1279.

fatal to reasonable expansion by gifts. Religious houses not only freed their own lands from State service, but, by juggling tenures, freed lay estates from it too, in degree increasing enough to make the device alarming. Before, however, that abuse was invented, after the Norman system the lords bestowed their churches on monasteries so extensively that rectories became vicarages in more than half the parishes. That cathedrals like Lichfield and Lincoln, and religious houses like Tutbury, Beauchief, Lenton, and Thurgarton, which drew the rectories of this county especially to them, were establishments that strengthened and gave size to Church methods and influence, I do not doubt. I believe any great movement which prevails widely is sure to have reason. They formed not only material strongholds of value in troublous times, but seats of learning and council and concentration of a size suited to Norman, compared with Saxon, civilization.

Parochial endowments diverted, not created, by Rome.

But when, in turn of time, reason removed the monasteries, the churches' revenues transferred to them were mostly lost. Had parishes received back under Henry VIII. all the property so transferred from them in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such restoration of Church property to its condition under William I. would have been as true a reform back to the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as were the spiritual reforms. So far was the Roman interlude

Parochial endowments diverted, not created, by Rome.

from being the time of parish endowments. In Southwell Diocese we can easily read this in the history of *The Churches of Derbyshire* * so far as it can be traced. We can verify in their history how large a proportion existed before Domesday Book, how much was transferred to Houses, etc., before Henry III. and how little addition to parish property was made afterwards. The population of the country had no growth before this century, compared with its enormous present rate of increase. Emigration was for adventure, or religion, by cadets of gentry, not by working classes. Church extension was not so urgent. It is this nineteenth century † that has developed most of the additional parishes since the thirteenth century, five thousand added to eight thousand—added just as we see going on each year for populations grown this century. These new five thousand parishes were certainly never added for Romans in this century; but not a bit more were the old Saxon eight thousand endowed with tithes and land before specific Roman doctrines were current. The specific Roman mediæval doctrines and customs, which were the subjects of our Reformation, were formulated at the Fourth Lateran Council in A.D. 1215, in our King John's reign, at the time when he was driven by his quarrels with barons and people to throw himself into the Pope's hands. You

* *The Churches of Derbyshire*, by Dr. J. C. Cox [Bemrose].
† Written 1896.

will not find record after that of endowments except for a few chantries, besides the gifts to monasteries of which I have spoken.

Papal aggression meant Church impoverishment.

At the Reformation the monasteries, which were the Pope's army, were removed; the bishops and parsons remained the same people with the same sees and parishes as before; but though they were the same Church of England that had been before the Conquest, they emerged from the semi-Papal interval shorn of the rectorial property absorbed by monasteries, and never restored to the Church on their dissolution. The Papal interval was no age of Church endowment in England, but of Church impoverishment. It was not only in lands that this took place.

Tithes.

The Tithes, which had apparently been introduced in the very early English Church as a general Christian institution, had been recognized as such without question by the Saxon Kings and Councils, and enforced like other Church institutions. For some time it was a personal duty, but the lord might pay his tithes to whatever representative of the Church he chose—maybe to the Bishop, maybe to some particular church or object. The tithe became a property detached from the land itself, that could be appropriated to Church purposes anywhere. So estates were transferred without the tithe's value being counted in the purchase; and from that time tithes have been excluded

Tithes.

from reckoning in purchases and leases, and are truly said to be paid neither by owner nor tenant of the lands on which they are charged, the tithe system and its methods being taken into account in every such transaction. In no long time the liberty of paying the tithe to what church a lord liked was restrained by an established rule that every one should pay his tithe to his own church. That marked a further stage in the development of organization for completing the network of church provision over the country; as in Colonies, the stage in which a district is mapped into parishes succeeds to that of diocesan provision for it piecemeal. Still, the churches were in patrons' hands, who could, and were led to, bestow them on the religious Houses; and in that way the tithes as well as lands passed to the Houses, subject to the duty of paying vicars. One-fourth of the tithes are reckoned to have passed in this way from the parishes of England. Even in that respect alone, the church provision for the small old Saxon population was so much more than for our multiplied millions.

Origin of funds in hands of Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty Board.

Whatever now is given in augmentation by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or Queen Anne's Bounty Board, is all money derived, not from laymen, but from Church money. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners distribute estates belonging to bishops and chapters and some other (chiefly mineral) properties; but all of it merely old Church property re-

distributed by them, not new property added. Queen Anne's Bounty is simply from payments from bishops and clergy, being what the Pope, in his interlude of power, caused sees and parishes to pay as tenths and first-fruits to him when patronage came to be under his sanction. Kings took possession of the money, instead of remitting it, when it ceased to be the contribution towards the Church centre, till, in 1704, Queen Anne gave it up for its present Church uses. It does good service to many clergy in want of loans not otherwise attainable by them. But it is simply the body of clergy contributing out of their depression to a common loan fund for special necessities. Those who use it become thereby themselves contributors also. There is fairness in this, as well as some check on needless recourse to it. But, it is somewhat ridiculous that the public funds existing to aid an impoverished clergy, in days when the general wealth of the country has reached an unprecedented height, should be derived from payments by the impoverished clergy or redistribution of Church estates.

Origin of funds in hands of Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty Board.

The Voluntary System of free gifts on which our endowments were built up in the early centuries of our English Church is still the system on which provision has to be made for the present multitudinous growth of population. Our endowments have all been from Church laymen's voluntary gifts.

Endowments created by free gifts.

Endowments created by free gifts.

The Voluntary System, which contains in it such valuable elements of life for parson and people, should not be regarded as exhausted by our old forefathers; but should be the living source to supplement those old voluntary endowments with offerings, to make both clergy staff and clergy incomes adequate for their honourable service.

Concurrent endowment.

The proposal to share endowments is seen to be impossible. The idea of concurrent endowment has been given up, and it is not worth discussing with two hundred and fifty sects to be concurrent.

It is the commonest delusion of thoughtless, offhand people that large arithmetical processes can be repeated as often as wished.

Tithes and Rates.

Tithes v. Rates.—There is one financial paradox which is absolutely true in the matter. Tithes are different from rates. Tithes are reckoned, and have been, in every purchase; and since the first donor's time no one has paid anything that belonged to him. The land is bought with that charge on it, and so much the less is paid for it on that account. The land is rented with that charge upon it, and so much the less rent is paid on that account. And every one knows that.

An unjust claim.

Competition.—If a small firm sets up by the side of a large established one, sometimes as a deserter from the older firm,

is it expected or claimed that the old firm is at once to give up all its advantages of position and credit and connection, to set its rival on an equality which the rival can't make for itself ? An unjust claim.

Maybe our Lord will once again send His disciples without purse or wallet. Maybe He will show an entrance into the houses of the rich more open to teachers who claim hospitality with no place to lay their head. Maybe apostles who have no silver and gold may again have power to make the lame rise and walk. Christian homes, or homeless mendicants.

I know that there are clergy who know, as well as laity who do not, who say that for us too that is the one thing that we lack yet. Men yearn to try that way of poverty. But is that way not open even better in spirit when it is a way of Christian liberty ? We may be partial judges, no doubt, when our interests seem touched.

But the teaching of Christian homes has been set in the balance against homeless mendicants ; and of the two opposed systems, which will not work together, the home is the higher influence for settled people. The home must be Christian in the voluntary asceticism of charity to set a Christian example. But I see no clergy luxury in our parsonages generally. Clergy homes, open for intercourse of rich and poor, do the primitive office of Christian community better than friars.

PART IX

THE CLERGY FREEHOLD

The Independence of the clergy.

CLERGY independence is the key of the English Church system, and is justified wherever clergy make their service of freedom a spring of unsparing devotion and sacrifice, which no contract service could impose or exalt. It is no doubt a snare to weaker vessels; it behoves clergy to justify it. State law which gave it may take it away; but it would be un-English blindness in the laity to destroy the spring of the best clergy service, in any impatience of occasional individual or even party misuse, which the history of liberty bids us trust that truth and common sense will not perpetuate when seen to be misuse.

The chief speciality derived from State laws and rights is the independence of incumbents. This is no Church principle, but has its origin in property rights affecting the laity. It is limited by State law too, much less than it would be under purely Church law. State law may limit it further with no encroachment on any but State rights.

I have before repeatedly said that this independence in its living reality has preserved and improved Church life, in spite of bishops, squires, and vestries; and like our other fortuitous English growths, these independent units dotted all over the country have made more living centres of spirit than departmental machinery. Chaucer's parson has not been ubiquitous, but now here, now there, his type has kept the country salted with true religion more than bigger organizations. Independence is often tiresome, but if it is so through the resistance of life, not of apathy, no English lover of liberty can hesitate to prefer it to drilled indifference, or contract service, or ignorant dictation, or conspiracy against suppression. The Independence of the clergy.

The "One Man Rule" as Mr. Arthur Balfour calls it, has been the instrument by which the middle of last century saw the slovenly "Churchwardenism" of the early Victorian era changed to the dignity and reverence which made a leading Nonconformist say, that Church improvements have removed Disestablishment out of practical politics.

It has been discredited latterly. The clergy have widely desired lay co-operation. But that means, not unnaturally, lay control; and lay control in parishes means party government, for which our villages and clergy are scarcely suited.

It may be well, when men desire to en-

Lay control and loss of spiritual power.

feeble the Church's men, and to bring the clergy under close lay control, to remember that the times when the clergy "were passing rich with forty pounds a year," and had to dance attendance upon patrons and serve as great men's chaplains, were the times when the Church had least spiritual power against vice; and good men craved most a spiritual system free from bonds of State control.

A new paper constitution would probably alter all the relations of bishops, clergy, and churchwardens; and many, I do not doubt, think they might be altered with advantage. But there is no better example of a live institution, not worked by machinery, than our very independent and loosely united system of parishes, in dioceses, which are the characteristics of our Church. Paper constitutions kill life, they don't make it. Our system requires the hardest Christian duty, that all our officers forget themselves in care for the good, the liberty, the feelings of others. Freedom requires the best men, and the best men require freedom. A system which gives the best men the most freedom, even though it tempt weaker members to laxity or presumption, is still the best for English freedom. It ought to shame all to duty by honour. It certainly draws the greatest devotion from those worthy of it. Our failures drive us near desperation. But relief would be dearly

Paper constitutions kill life.

purchased by coercion which enslaved our good clergy to bishops or laity. I do not want clergy to discipline laity, nor laity clergy, nor either nor both to discipline bishops; but neither do I want bishops to have clergy in their power. Our great joy is good clergy; our need is good clergy; our way is not by discipline or coercion, but by good conditions of service, both spiritual and material, but chiefly spiritual. Paper constitutions kill life.

The one real blot in our Church system is the practical immunity of bad clergymen. Why, then, has the nation, which is the Church, borne this? The independent freehold position of an English clergyman is not primitive or ecclesiastic or Catholic; it is essentially legal, English, established—a custom of English property law. It is really the central point of Establishment which makes the English Church what it specially is.

Now it is, no doubt, in part true, that the reluctance to alter this established custom of clergy freehold is due to the English considerateness, which puts personal hardship before public advantage, often to excess. But that would be a superficial account. Englishmen know Englishmen, and they know Englishmen require individual independence to do their best work. The black times of our Church were the days when the clergy were treated as domestic chaplains, degraded in starvation salaries, but still more in prescribed and limited offices and so degraded

Independence the condition of efficiency.

in esteem. I only say what is said by all alike, when I say that the fifty years which we have known have been marked by increasing spiritual life and progress in the Church. This did not come from clergy only; but the greatest witness and the most potent influence have been the changed positions of the clergy and their independent energy, the energy of men of character placed in a position to develop influences in their own best way.

The Church has felt that teachers, like judges, ought both to be provided beforehand by the community, and to have sufficient independence of status to judge and teach. For those who most need them are the last to wish for them, and their teaching and just judgment require independence. It is for the good of the whole community that they should not be dependent on the payments of those to whom they are unpalatable. Bishops, squires, and vestries would have made short work of many spiritual advances in Church activity, if good men had had no independent position.

When we deplore the evils due to the immunity of bad clergy, let us remember the balance of gain due to the independence of good. Some arrangements develop good best, others check evil best. England has preferred those who promote good, trusting public enlightenment to check evil. Patience and generosity are still at times strained to

the utmost by unworthy clergy; but fewer and fewer year by year do this harm to religion. More and more, year by year, are high character and devoted self-denying work elevating life and increasing happiness among people, where the clergy have scarce any worldly inducement, except the generous satisfaction of slaving freely, as they see they best can, in service to God and man. Independence the condition of efficiency.

No office that I know has such freedom of choice, how its work should be done, in what methods, in what degree, when and with whom, as that of an English clergyman. That so much devoted work is done shows the power of the law of liberty, for it is no *arcanum imperii* that, where that fails, there is no coercion. The law of liberty is a law of honour: and what a man does of himself is his satisfaction, as it is also his chief influence. That independence creates round the type of parish work a variety of examples, which enriches parish ways and crosses them with new strains where mechanical monotony would decay, and which adds also the vitality of individual interest and idea. The law of liberty a law of honour.

Rules there must of course be; work cannot live unregulated and unorganized. Rules in right place make liberty. When a man's methods are made, he is free to work on them; when laws exist to free him from other people's interference and his own indecision, he is free to attend. Without direction in beginning he is not free but a

The law of liberty a law of honour.

blank. Knowledge in experience and training create freedom of action, where habit makes us do things naturally. Limitations, regulations, division of labour, are all conditions of working in freedom from the helplessness of beginning on a new and infinite world. "As free as space," is all imaginary. A spider cannot spin in space, our individual lives are freed from helpless embarrassment when our days are planned out, and no one will ever work freely who has not this preparation made.

So it is the one happiness of a settled Church that it is framed on formed knowledge and free to live, not as tottering and wobbling in childish ignorance, but in the steadiness of mature system. The type of our duties is made, and that is what we have accepted freely: pastor, prophet, and priest. Our flock is assigned us, and we know and accept our fixed rights, laws, and relations. But within this sphere of our accepted office we have the freest hand of any service. Routine has scarce a place in it. Our strength as a whole service rests on intelligent and willing co-operation.

Liberty must be regulated.

But how each will co-operate, how each will do his own work rests with himself. He makes his own routine for much of it, if he is wise, but it is as his own method. We Englishmen find our happiness in this. If, however, a man ever frets at his limitations of his settled duties and relations, he will be wise to remember that Society only makes

liberty by regulating it; that liberty is not for him only, but for all; and that his own liberty after all depends on others allowing it to him. He will be wise to contrast the bondage of other Systems, whose ministers are subject to unsettled caprices of other people's unregulated government. It is only under recognized restrictions of fixed laws that a man is free to act, as knowing when and how he can act freely without interference.

Liberty must be regulated.

This freedom is an Englishman's happiness. It is also, I believe, his spring of duty, a spring to which he responds by doing more living work than any staff drilled to mechanical routine. It creates a noble *esprit de corps* which feels any failure in a member of our body to obey the law of liberty to be a common blot on the whole service, which shares the dishonour as well as the weakness attached to such individual failure. And yet we do not question the liberty nor the wisdom of its trust. That liberty obliges by not obliging; and that it makes its happiness by not obliging is the law of liberty by which our work is made happiness.

PART X

THE CHURCH'S SERVICE OF WORSHIP AND DUTY

On firm lines of system and of unity is built the Church that abides, while fashions change and schools and sects imagine and disperse.

Adaptability of the Church to the Nation's needs.

Looking back at the introduction of Christianity into savage pagan kingdoms, let me ask you to take a short review of the action of the Church in England since Repton, the capital of the Kingdom of Mercia, first received the faith *circum* A.D. 653, and has been its witness and its monument.

Men idly say that the Church has not been active, the Church has no ideas, no resources, no development, no elasticity; that the Church has not seen the needs of the people nor met them; that the Church has been the creature of kings and nobles; that the Church has sought wealth and has not used it; that the sins of the people witness to the sins of the Church. That is not the witness given by the history of England.

Look and see. What idea has our advanced experience, lay or clerical, friendly or hostile, in this age suggested, which the Church of England has not long ago imagined and tried ? Adaptability of the Church to the Nation's needs.

First, take our present system, bishops, archdeacons, parish priests (presbyters, parsons, curates, whichever of their many names you call their office), and recall first, that above, beneath, beside all other forms of supplementary institutions for teaching Christian truth and life in England, that system has never ceased from its first establishment to be the framework of our national religion. It represents under its organization the principle and the motives of individual responsibility, framed in personal relations and personal duty and personal spirit. Based on independence of estate and patronage, it stands in contrast to systems of subordination adopted in foreign Churches and Nonconformist bodies, with its own evils, perhaps, but also with its own true goods, which nothing but the abuse of exaggeration could make questionable.

If independence bred domination and negligence, it was also the spring of ever-fresh life wherever true spirit came into any separate parsonage ; and good men in their single work served God unfettered by low tone around, in the multiform freedom of individual souls stirred to rise to their highest by the sense of uncontrolled responsibility and unfettered opportunity,

Adaptability of the Church to the Nation's needs.

looking to God and to their people's good. Fresh, all over the country, kept ever springing such wells of unforced duty, unreduced to corporate level of uniformity with the lowest. A generation in a district might sink; but some George Herbert would arise to begin afresh the lost spirit in a rising generation that would welcome it. Home life and separate charge and independent place have made the parish clergy survive in special fitness for English feeling, as units in a system united rather than controlled by Archdeacon and by Bishop. But by their side think of the institutions that have grown and vanished since the first mission chaplains and evangelistic monasteries began the faith in Repton; since the unsettled Mission-Bishops of Ireland were displaced in favour of the imperially organized Church system taught from Rome by Greek and African; since Theodore mapped England into dioceses and provinces, to be covered with parishes by all her owners, and one united Church in her several kingdoms made the framework of an united England and the Church's Councils laid the foundation of the Nation's Assemblies.

Modern needs are versus ancient experiments.

Our time has its ideas. Are they all new? For example, do we think that Christian laymen need but combine their skill and sense in some organized Bodies to make the land a land of learning and arts and prosperity? What were the monasteries but

just this? Or if we say, it is not lay communities that will elevate the country; we want bodies of preachers: clergy who shall not be tied to preach a hundred sermons a year to the same people, clergy who shall not live isolated, but with the strength and divided work of brotherhoods. What were the priories of preaching canons but just this? Or if we say, Churches and fixed Houses will not do the work, but preachers without scrip must go out into the streets and roads, the markets and gatherings. What else were the mendicant friars, but just this? Or if we say, hamlet chapels for the scattered folk must bring religion to their doors, or leave them outside the church. What were the wayside chantries and their priests but just this? If we say, on the other hand, strengthen the central force in the diocese, and from that centre let leaders go forth to guide and inspire; and to that centre be the diocese gathered for examples of worship, government, and learning. What were the Cathedrals? Or if they seem too diocesan under the officialism of Bishop, and we think presbyters of equal place the true power to make a great Church live. What were collegiate churches? Or do we say, models of individual devotion would teach the careless. What were the cells of anchorites? Or if we look for scenes of united life or Christian philanthropy; how many Hospitals and Homes there were! Nor did the

Modern ideals a revival of ancient experiments

Modern ideals a revival of ancient experiments.

Church ignore the work of women, or sacrifice a hemisphere of holiness, because men had the government. If, again, education is one recipe, what form of school or college have not the leaders of the Church invented for the mind and morals, except one without religion?

Take any idea of machinery for moral and spiritual improvement which we can suggest, what is there which the Church did not try, or her leaders not devise, on the great scale in which the Church worked in her days of freedom and wealth? And since our modern days have shifted the centre of force from great personages to the people, and set subscription lists in place of gifts of estate, would it not appal you if I began to enumerate the moral and spiritual developments for which Church activity has organized societies?

The Church is recognized to be alive and active now, and her laity and her clergy revived in forwardness to give and to work. But was she not so in the past, when work and wealth were in her hands to use and to direct?

The Church's days of deadness.

Has the Church had days of deadness and weakness? days when she failed to satisfy the spiritual longing of religious earnestness, when she failed to provide the growing people with even her small modicum of spiritual life; when sects arose, not only from waywardness and mistake, but with some just complaint that spiritual life was

dead; when the rich were left unwarned, and the poor unhelped. What were those days? Were they not her days of bondage and poverty? the days when fear and apathy and ignorance among the people made uniformity the rule of safety; when any new idea seemed a heresy to the lay mind and the authorities; and earnestness, ridiculous or worse? When clergy poverty made clergy weakness, and village preachers, "passing rich with forty pounds a year," could not be always saints and gentlemen—at least, not in our England? Look back. Was it not so?

The Church's days of deadness.

The Church has never had enough allowance made for the dead hand laid on her by the People, afraid of too much zeal, or too much influence, or too much spiritual success—in fact, afraid lest she should keep abreast the times, and lest the clergy should outstrip lay knowledge or lay tradition or lay government—that is, lest the Church should do her proper work, to teach, to inspire, to elevate.

Has it not been so? Then did clergy failures deserve reproach when clergy liberty was feared, and clergy zeal proscribed and clergy government all taken from the Church? Saints will be more saints under difficulties; but ordinary men are made by circumstances, and cannot rise to the impossible.

Look on! See the People's trust in this day revived, the People's heart alive with

Church and people.

earnest spiritual interest, awakened to the need of moral influences for honesty and temperance and chastity and all that makes life true and happy, and so makes society united and serene. What then? Will the People destroy the good machinery of the Church, or will they set it free to work and feel its native power?

We think, perhaps, that some of those old Institutions might do our work now, as when they were first started they surely did do their several works, and only failed each in turn from exaggeration due to success. Their English lesson for the Church is responsibility. In many varied forms the principles which underlay those Institutions are being now revived for Church work; and, where loyalty to the Church is trusted by her members, larger freedom and larger support are given; and ideas for adapting them to modern circumstances find full encouragement when individual zeal inspires belief, and individual honesty inspires trust. When clergy do not fear the troubles of co-operation, the strength of corporate brotherhoods is gained without their sacrifices. Monks, priors, and friars would be grotesque anachronisms in their mediæval shapes; but books and art, learning and culture, science and labour, these have their brotherhoods to promote them without the losses of a homeless life. Preaching and missions have their forces formed and forming more and more, some

Present day forces of the Church.

permanent, some special—not only of ordained clergy, but of lay evangelists and teachers too, varied as much as ancient lower Orders in the Church. Present day forces of the Church.

The Church in this generation shows no lack of idea, of life, of fearlessness. Still more she shows the power of union when all her members, lay and clerical, meet for joint counsel and joint action, to vivify her work with one united mind and spirit (free from the jealousies of rival armies of monks and friars, and their different orders), binding the several living atoms into one in parish, diocese, and Church.

Had this spirit of zeal and trust and liberty been always hers, the Church would not have given grounds for sects; as she gives no grounds now, although the sects will still remain the heritage of past mistakes.

The Church is "the keeper of the city." Beyond law, beyond force, beyond social interest, Christian spirit is the power in which the Lord keeps the city, and without it the watchman waketh in vain. Infection of Christian spirit has been caught through the ages by Christian people and applied to regulate affairs, in proportion as regard for self has been overcome by that Christian spirit, which alone has battled with self. By that Christian spirit the Church has in our land changed in succession department after department of life, from the rudiments of barbarism to civilized profession of brother-

The service of centuries of the Church to the Nation.

hood; and as each department has ceased to need her initiation, she has passed on to another.

It is not my concern now to point out her present needed office, but more generally that she is needed. The very success of her spirit and its acceptance has made her be sometimes regarded as a nurse whose time is past, and whose lessons have been accepted for their own sake by generations that can see for themselves. But when her motives have been put aside as childish, her spirit is lost by the generations that see for themselves; and the children of this world, wiser as they may be than the children of light, show by experience that it is not intelligence, but character, which "maketh man" such as to keep a city. The disciplined restraint on self, which has learnt to bear and to forbear, and without which no man nor city, as the Greek poet says, can be strong, is not bred (except for private advantage) by shrewd intelligence: it is bred by Christian religion. The development of intelligence for secular progress and State service was an early work of the Church and her bishops in England, but on the basis of Christ's truth and the bonds of brotherhood. Religion has been the root of our ameliorations of law and order and education and society. From religion has come the motive power of reforms.

When men would fain keep the fruits of Christian teaching without the teaching,

the fruits lose flavour and spirit or hang and wither on the severed trunk. Distrust of Christian teaching breaks men's lives from the root; then its social and moral principles do not maintain spirit or vitality as Christian. Christian words may be used for what become purely selfish feelings; not altogether untrue in human interests, but not the lofty feelings professed by the names employed to advance them. Sometimes a more ghastly outburst than usual of unchristian reality shows how inhuman poor humanity becomes without Christian self-restraint. "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." Without religious self-restraint, law and police will not control, nor intelligence and education tame the wild beast that is so near the surface of natural humanity, of which the natural state is war. Humanity is strong, and active races of men have only been transformed to chivalry and tenderness and care for the life and happiness of others, by the belief in a God of Love, and the Christian belief in what the Love of God has done for man.

The service of centuries of the Church to the Nation.

We can do but little, maybe, to create this belief; but is it not worth while? And have we done what we can? The power of faith is acknowledged. The power of love is even greater to overcome, not only what we feel sure we can overcome, but to venture even beyond faith upon what seems impossible, and is so to all but love. Faith and love

The service of centuries of the Church to the Nation.

are active (as active, perhaps, as in any Christian age) when social and moral problems are put before the Church as her department for these days. If re-adjustment of relations of justice be our question, or the demoralization of drink and lust our distress, does faith doubt or love grow cold about efforts to civilize sin and injustice from our midst? Faith ventures, at times, maybe, beyond knowledge; certainly not without love or sacrifice.

The Church's trial through divisions and rivalries.

But can Christians wonder if he that was unjust is unjust still, and he that was filthy is filthy still, when the agencies for good are turned one against another, and Christendom is honeycombed with divisions, and unity is proscribed by jealousy? There have been times when that watchfulness of competing methods kept our religion straight, kept indolence alive, shamed selfishness and quickened inquiries. Truths recognized, but overlaid by other truths or overlooked, were brought to their true prominence on one side and on the other. But if there have been times for mutual improvement by *opposition*, whereby truths of system and truths of spirit were co-ordinated through separate development into their fullness, and wrought together, so there are times when the needed truth of system and spirit is *unity*.

Our own is such a time. Such times have been before. Reunion between the divisions

The Church's trial through divisions and rivalries.

came in one way, by absorption, into the unbroken and continuous Church. Monasteries were the natural strength of our Church's unsettled weakness, by brotherhood in union; till they became rivals and opponents of their mother, and magnified themselves on the great works they had done for the Church. The friars were the expansion of preaching and personal missioning when the Church could not reach the masses such as they were growing then; and till they magnified themselves on their works, they were the new life of Church advance in elevating influence and the spirit of brotherhood in self-denial. Unlike the colleges, (which Bishops raised often by gifts from Church estates, but which had offices too distinct to make rivalry and too adaptable to cease to be instruments,) those two great bodies abandoned their special office for the national religion, to rival lay power and to suppress Church life. But through those ages the Established Church, first of Bishops, then of parishes, never ceased, crippled as local influence was, to be the continuous instrument of worship and of teaching for the people generally; and though these two great Institutions supplied and supplanted her main work while they lasted, their end was to be absorbed into that National Church which outlived them, the richer for their ideas and their influence. Their greatness often dwarfs out of sight the fact that they were but supplemental

The Church's trial through divisions and rivalries.

instruments of the National Church; whose Bishops, indeed, stand forth in history in a line of unequalled character, but whose parish priests are rarely recorded save in their own home registers, though their specimen stands out from our great first poet's * motley troop of characters as the spiritual preacher of holiness.

Through other ages and nations the same story runs. Bodies after bodies of Christians with names and tenets representing each some thought, true or false, which seemed neglected, passed across the stage of Church history, enriching or clarifying Church thought; until, in turn, their work done, they were absorbed into the continuous Church; and their divisions, their mistakes or their reforms parted the Church no more. They were temporary excrescences, and they passed away.

In modern days, just as in old, have earnest Christians seen some special truths perhaps neglected out of proportion to others in the Church at their time; and have quickened and enriched the National Church of which they were members when they were enlightened. They have passed through the natural stages in which truth gets filtered from its accretions and accepted. When they have so done their work, and made their contribution to religious life and feeling, if they turn from their originating impulse to magnify themselves, history pre-

Reunion by absorption the only possible reunion.

* Geoffrey Chaucer.

dicts from past experience that they will, by natural tendency, be absorbed again into the National Church as elements of itself. That is the only Reunion for England. You ask why? I say nothing of the many circumstances which are attached to existing divisions; but apart from all lower principles, it is a mistake to suppose religion to be made attractive to religious people (and they are its ultimate settlers) by being made easy. It is not concessions that inspire religious people with respect. The fuller and more complete a Church is, the more will it satisfy and prevail. I know that what is called "Undenominationalism" has the air of being a prevailing creed. It might live on its false name and its air of freedom, but it cannot satisfy religious people, if they have no other object to get by it. A Creed to catch everybody by being nothing, is no Creed. Undenominational bodies give themselves away, so far as being teachers to lead or satisfy religious minds.

Reunion by absorption the only possible reunion.

The Church is often invited to seek reunion by concessions of system or doctrine. No blinder mistake could she commit. The Church has reformed herself on conviction from mediæval accretions on Primitive system and doctrine; and, on conviction, it would be part of our Church's principle to reform again whatever was shown to be unprimitive or untrue. But for the sake not of herself only, but of those, too, who invite her to make concessions, not on conviction but

Reunion by absorption the only possible reunion.

because things do not signify,—for their sake, and to keep safe for them their heritage of truth committed to her, she may not abandon what she believes to be the best. To be the centre for reunion, she must maintain her own confidence, her own trust, her own substance, her own respect. She must have something to offer worthy of acceptance.

The Ministry of the Church.

While she says, with the Bible, of the Ministry: "How can they preach, except they be sent?" and can satisfy that condition by maintaining that unbroken continuity of appointment in which she can say: "No one has appointed himself in the Church of England at any time, but all her bishops and clergy from the very first days of Christianity, and before any question could arise about Apostolic practice, have been duly sent,"—she has something more than mere historic antiquity to offer to bodies, which have all begun by some one choosing and appointing himself on his own self-will, with no lawful authority.

Her Creeds and Doctrine.

While she maintains in entirety the Creeds of the ancient Church, and holds fast that Primitive teaching as the first unwritten expression, and the first authoritative interpretation of the written expression, of the mind of Christ made known by His Apostles and reverenced by faithful men, as a revelation not of man nor by man—she has a standard of faith to which men may rally when they

learn again what is the region of faith and what of sight; and come to acknowledge that man's inability to see beyond his sight is scarcely a reason for his asserting that he needs no revelation. In the history of thought, earnest men never have lasted sceptics or agnostics long; and they have turned to the stronger faith of the Creeds and to the Church which has held fast that standard. Her Creeds and Doctrine.

While the Church retains ancient Liturgies, and enshrines the spiritual utterances of prayer and praise, of worship and thanksgiving, in the saintly and stately forms which united Churches of East and West in common aspirations of old saints, and in familiarity with which her Prayer Book trains her children to spiritual thoughts above their own, and makes them theirs—she may well feel that she does her duty as leader of worship more simply, more loftily, more permanently, than by trusting her services to the casual varieties, each of their own, more or less gifted, more or less spiritual, minister in his shifting phases of weekly capability. She may ask with confidence those who, forsooth, call her sacerdotal, where does she commit to her priests (appointed in due order and in submission to creeds and liturgy), any such high-flown commission as is assumed and taken on themselves by ministers of no more learning or spirituality than hers; who are set without standards of faith and devotion to be at once teachers of their own Her Liturgy.

doctrines and offerers of their own prayers for the congregation ?

The English Church a possible future centre of reunion for other Churches.

The religious thinker of widest European outlook in our time * has looked to the English Church to be the centre of reunion for all the Churches, East or West, old or modern, as the Church that holds the great common principles of system and doctrine; —the one Church that can bring out of her treasures things old and new; which is primitive but not undeveloped, conservative but reformed; that regards at once order and freedom, reason and authority, system and spirit; that is at once simple in reality and dignified in reverence; that has brought the Bible and Sunday home to the Country: which has taught the Christian *life* to be the fruit, the test, the value of Christian knowledge. Dreams of universal reunion can be only dreams for us now; and the praises of foreigners may be taken by us rather as lessons of what we must aim at. But when the time comes that religion shall not be regarded as open for every one to make for himself, and union shall seem stronger and more elevating than individualism, the Church of England will be the one rallying centre for English religion, if only she retains in quiet strength the Faith she has received. But she must keep fast her Faith, or she can be no rallying centre.

Our Church takes S. Paul's example. The

* Dr. Döllinger.

Church teaches because she is convinced that she is right; and where she differs from others, that others are wrong. Our Church, while holding that teachers must take heed and not build wildly, builds on S. Paul's principle, that new Gospels are not consistent with the historic foundation of Christianity.

The Church's protests against Roman and sectarian assertions

Against Rome alike on the one hand, and the Protestant sects on the other, our Church holds that the Historic Faith to be taught and required is described truly in the old Church formula, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, in the sense intended by its framer:—Doctrines always held from the first, held not by local Churches or Councils but by the Universal Church, and held in every Church, not by some party or sect in it, but by the whole body as a Church.

On that ground our Church reformed, on the one hand, from mediæval additions, not based on the New Testament and Primitive teaching, but developed as new by Rome; and on the other, refused the hasty tenets of new sects, in the proper meaning of the name *sect* as a following of some individual teacher. The Roman developments of indulgences, images, purgatory, worship of the Virgin Mary, are instances of tenets refused as new and local inventions which were no part of the primitive Gospel. When the founder of the Brownists, or Independents, made his personal following against

The Church's protests against Roman and sectarian assertions.

fifteen centuries of universal Church system, the Church asked how that wild ungoverned temper and career showed any sign of proper heed in asserting his individual ideas, which he ended by abandoning? When the Wesleyan lay preachers, in defiance of their leader's injunctions, determined to assert themselves to be ordained, and to have the right to ordain on their own motion and claim against eighteen centuries of Church system, the Church (whose Bishops had, as Wesley says, promoted the lay preacher movement) asked, not without reason, how that self-ordination found precedent justification in Primitive methods for inverting Church order and their own sect-leader's principles, by a sudden act of self-exaltation? When, in excess of reverent fear, Baptists made no distinction of Christian from heathen; and (in distrust of S. Paul's assurance to Christian parents that their children were holy) scrupled to baptize infants, the Church asked how sixteen centuries of Church generations left no mark of doubt or question what age sufficed, or hesitated to dedicate Christian children to God as early as Jewish infants had been commanded to be brought?

In these instances our Church presents her historic principles in accord with those of S. Paul. Of course, they apply more forcibly in proportion to the manifold more individual and fanciful bodies that multiply their separations. Like S. Paul, the Church

sees that "there must be divisions," and sees in their raising their questions, the method of advancing clearness and agreement as the methods of the ancient Creeds exemplify. The Church's protests against Roman and sectarian assertions.

Only she holds that Nonconformity was truer to its wish for truth, as Nonconformity than as Dissent: *i.e.* by raising questions for settlement within the body than by preventing settlement of questions by separating from the body.

A National Church does not know separations. Its office is not, as if it were a competing sect, to fight and attack; but to maintain its positive teaching and make it good against misunderstanding; to take all questions into account, to explain or to learn from them, and to embrace the whole People in its primitive Gospel and Order.

THE END

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